

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

MARCH 25, 1996

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James Peters



Clifford Olson

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### Parole on trial

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Times are good for Canada's junior mining companies. But no one has more reason to celebrate than David Walsh of Calgary's Bre-X Minerals Ltd.

# From The Editor

## The Helms-Clinton Act

On his farewell tour in Canada, U.S. Ambassador James Blanchard was in Toronto last month making a pitch with the city's power brokers. He pitched them on which party they would vote for if they were U.S. citizens—Democratic or Republican. A handful of the high rollers chose the Republicans, the overwhelming majority opted for Bill Clinton and the Democrats. The result was hardly a surprise, given the pro-Democratic mood that has gripped Democrats since the Kennedy era.

The affinity with Democrats is all the more ironic given a season in which Blanchard's buddy Clinton, the man he is leaving Canada to campaign for is presiding over a massive U.S. effort to put the screws to this here little neighbor of theirs. The latest blow came last week, when Clinton used multiple pretexts—no doubt our far much Florida handmaiden—and slipped into law the so-called *Liberated Act*, a stunning exercise in the application of U.S. Cuban policy to Canada and other parts of the world. It was also a stunning manifestation of the clout of Republican Senator Jesse Helms and the anti-Castro vote in south Florida.

And there was more on the West Coast. Canadian officials were asking for an agreement in principle on softwood lumber that is properly known as the Americans wanted to impose their system of setting stumpage fees on Canada, in turn, Canada was denying its right to levy a \$1,500 fee on American salmon fishermen bound for Alaska through the sheltered trade passage between Vancouver Island and the mainland; and, in Washington, the Clinton administration took Canada to the world trade court for the first time because of legislation aimed at protecting the Canadian magazine industry.

Clearly, it is the political high season in America, a good time to bash foreigners. Last week, it was possible to imagine the ghost of Teddy Roosevelt stalking the White House, declaiming the doctrine of Manifest Destiny and the inalienable right to control the globe. Interestingly, when Republicans championed the doctrine a



century ago, there were concerns about economic depression, the hardships in the cities, and unchecked corporate power. According to *The Columbia History of the World*: "Men and women fretted impaled by these powerful forces could find emotional compensation in overseas struggles for their country."

To be sure, the hardhats in Cuba blundered badly when they gave the go-ahead to shoot down civilian aircraft and kill four Cuban-Americans in February. Canadians shivered in America's embrace. But by signing the so-called *Liberated Act*, sponsored by Helms and Representative Dan Burton, Clinton is effort has handed control of Cuban policy to the Republican-dominated Congress. The bill allows U.S. diplomats to sue people who "traffick" as proper to confiscated by the Castro regime. And it makes it possible for the United States to deny entry to those "traffickers."

Incidentally, that list includes several Canadian companies, from Sherbrooke, Quebec to Delta, Alberta, as well as world-famous brands such as Beaverton and Unilever, which also have Cuban operations. One thing they all have in common, along with lawyers and other advisors from around the world, is making Cuba down the capitalist road—presumably a development that Helms would welcome. For his part, Clinton has the right to delay implementing the bill, but it takes effect on Nov. 1, four days before his re-election bid. In a telephone call last month, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien urged Clinton to exempt Canadians from the draconian sweep of the bill. And this week, Chrétien will sit down with the European Union's trade commissioner, Leon Brittan, to plot a co-ordinated attack on the U.S. actions. Brittan, of course, is the emissary whom Clintonia refused to see last year at the height of the war with the European. Chrétien and Brittan Clinton and Helms. What strange bedfellows.

*Robert Jensen*

## Newsroom Notes:

### Behind the bars

This week's cover story on the controversy about the early release of prison boss Sonny Wortzik of Alcatraz behind bars. To investigate the parole system, he spent a day watching hearings at McNeil Prison.



Wortzik a day at McNeil

tion near Kingston, Ont., home to some of the country's most heinous criminals. After talking to dozens of people involved in the system, he reached a surprising conclusion: "Once you're behind bars, getting out is a lot harder than people think." Said Assistant Managing Editor Bob Levy, who oversaw the package: "There's no question that the public mood is for more punishment. The question is whether that translates into more public safety."

### Summer internship

McNeel's invites applicants for the Ann MacGregor Internship open to candidates with a proven interest in journalism who are entering the final year of a university or college program. The summer internship will offer an opportunity to gain experience in all aspects of magazine journalism, including research, photos and electronic publishing. Please direct résumés to Chief of Research Brian Guthrie at the address listed on page 10.

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Three anatomical human hearts are arranged horizontally against a white background. The heart on the left is a pale, off-white color. The heart in the middle is a dark, almost black color. The heart on the right is a bright, saturated yellow. Each heart is shown from a similar perspective, highlighting its complex structure and major vessels.

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**YELLOW**

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# The Mail

## Profiting from hope

I thought it fascinating that the statistics on the increase of part-time workers between 1981 and 1984 proved what I knew already: employers are substituting their profits with Canada's unemployment system ("Jobs," Cover, March 12). If they are not hiring while making huge profits, firm government should step in, because business's argument against regulation no longer exists. It is dangerous to leave the ordinary Canadian with little hope for too long. Unemployment demoralization and the Ontario labor strike could be just a peek at what lies ahead.

Thomas O. Steward,  
Mt. Pearl, Nfld. ☐

Can we start looking, rather than belatedly following, the international pack, realizing that almost all of us will benefit from others being employed rather than as welfare, or even involved in crime? I recently tried to suggest a measure of corporate success that had employment as a positive factor, but it flew like a lead balloon. What a sorry thought that we might even need all those domestic consumers to keep the fortunate people in comfort.

Roger Pilon,  
Nipiss, Ont. ☐

## Road test

In the article "Pain and anger" (World, March 11), you write that "trucks have created a shrine to the victims' need for recognition bits of wreckage beside the Joffin Road." I think you meant Joffa Road. The only Joffin Road is in Rio de Janeiro.

James Finkler,  
Gatineau ☐

## Trimming the fat

In your article "Sleazebags for trendy 'Love at' (Blackpack, Feb. 18), you made some accurate statements about magazines. You selectively discussed observations from only one cancer study, but the authors had made it clear in their evaluation that no conclusion about magazine can be drawn from it. You also expressed concern about excess polysyllabic lingo in the ads. But that isn't a relevant issue in Canada where our current intake of polysyllables is moderate.

Laurie White,  
Nutrition communications manager  
Thomas J. Joffa  
Toronto



Transport ship C. D. Howe at Pangnirtung in 1957, isolating the disease.

## Tuberculosis tragedy

The article "Dark days for the Inuit" (Health, March 4) provided some nostalgia for me since, as a young university student in 1957, I was aboard the transport ship C. D. Howe for a number of months in the Eastern Arctic. My position was that of sick-bay attendant, which meant developing X-rays, and looking after the Inuit patients either returning home from hospitals in the south or being transported to hospital with tuberculosis. The article was a good summary of the methods used to attempt

to isolate and cure the dreaded disease among the Inuit. The comments about the ship's arrival at the remote communities were almost as poignant as reality. On one occasion, I watched an Inuit man hand his 14-year-old son a pocketful of shells for a rifle and tell the boy that he was now the man of the family and must look after them. He had been diagnosed with tuberculosis, but did recover after a two-year stay in

Hardy's Mountain Sanatorium. That man was known to me as Henry Ekevadtyak, and subsequently he became known as one of Canada's most famous carvers.

Fred J. Lee,  
Anchorage, Ala.

## Brilliant, not bleak

As one of the authorized biographers of Canadian novelist and short-story writer Sinclair Ross, I read with interest the account of his death. Far from being bleak, Ross's France novel *As for Me and My People* stands at the very center of the best that has been thought and written by Canadian writers. Come to think of it, shouldn't such a major figure in our culture have merited more than six lines in the *Panorama* column (March 11) after 60 years of telling the stories that have taught us who we are?

John O'Connor  
Toronto ☐

Don't be flustered for some gift or other. When I'd ask when you were going to say it back, you'd say "Monday, Monday" just kidding.

Michael Sherman,  
Victoria Lake, Yukon

## Francophone wrath

Your coverage of the current political climate in Montreal was commendable ("Storm warnings," Cover, March 4). We are both native, bilingual Montrealers, who left for the United States in June 1965. Although we would not have moved unless it had been professionally worthwhile, our motive was the political uncertainty. I remember the great horror and disappointment we felt when the March 1966 election died. We knew that the wrath of Quebec's francophone majority against Canada would come home to roost. When will the pro-federal forces get dirty act together? When will a Quebec within Canada be the paradise it deserves to be?

Christopher Parnik,  
Edmonton, N.Y.

A few years back, I was asked by *Maritime* as a Quebecer "will believing in Canada." Though my views have not



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COLUMN



## Diane Francis Challenging Quebec's language law

**M**ost Canadians have no idea how tight Quebec's language laws are. We do know that the late Parti Québécois government and its discriminatory legislation led to the largest out-migration in Canadian history as hundreds of thousands of anglophones, and their enterprises, left Quebec after the separatists were voted in 1976. Then, in turn, started the economic deterioration Montreal and the province. Even so, in April the PQ will devise a government report on the status of the French language, which argues that the French fact in Quebec is seriously endangered and that the only way to generate a short of separation, in further legislative intervention. If endorsed, this would further the PQ's goal of strengthening Bill 101 by restricting the use of English even more than is now the case when it comes to signs and schooling. And the PQ could once again ban all languages except French on commercial signs. (This law was softened by the Liberals and now allows other languages on signs, but only if the type size is considerably smaller.)

Party hardliners also want to deny children access to English schools unless one of their parents was educated in English in Quebec. Currently, access is provided for children if one parent was educated in English in Canada, not just Quebec. (Immigrant children and transphone children are another matter. They have been denied English-language schools since the mid-1970s, unless their parents were transferred from abroad or had obtained a special exemption.)

But for more sweeping is the PQ's official platform, which recommends that restrictions be expanded beyond the secondary school level to CEGEPs, or community colleges. Civil-rights activist and Montreal lawyer Brent Tyler has published a compelling summary of court cases that have condemned these restrictive language measures. Unfortunately, Quebec has circumvented the court decisions by avoiding the notwithstanding clause of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which allows any province to opt out of certain otherwise guaranteed rights.

As Tyler—who backs the idea that federalist regions of Quebec could separate from an independent Quebec—points out, laws against English in Quebec have been ruled illegal, and also contrary to several international treaties signed by Canada in order to protect civil rights. "The related measure of applying restrictions to CEGEPs would not be unconstitutional because the Constitution only protects primary and secondary schools," adds Tyler. "It would, however, be in flagrant violation of the United Nations Recommendation Against Discrimination in Education and the Inter-American Convention on the Rights of the Child."

Such changes would also be very unpopular with many francophones. "Nothing in English CEGEP is their first opportunity

to learn or improve their English because they cannot legally attend an English primary or secondary school in Quebec, and there are only a handful of French schools with English immersion. It is also forbidden to teach English until Grade 5 and forbidden to teach it for more than three hours per week."

The sign ban has already been struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1985. It ruled that the ban was an infringement of the right of freedom of expression under Section 2(b) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. But the law was resurrected when then-Premier Robert Bourassa created the notwithstanding clause.

Another blow to the law came in 1990 after Quebec anglophones took the matter to the United Nations. The UN Committee on Human Rights held that while Quebec could require the presence of French on signs, it could not prohibit other languages under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Following the United Nations' objectives, Bourassa passed Bill 86, which allowed signs to be in languages other than French, provided that French dominated the space.

Sign bans are an embarrassment, but the most unjust language schools involve children's rights. Tyler notes that preventing access to English language instruction for English-speaking children who move to Quebec from other provinces would run counter to Section 25(1) of the Canadian Constitution. This section, which Quebec can opt out of, is designed to protect Canadians who are members of linguistic minorities. It states that children of Canadian citizens whose first language learned and still understood is English or French (and that language is not the dominant language in their region) are nonetheless entitled to be educated in their own language "where numbers warrant."

Quebec's language laws also transgress international law, notably the UNESCO Recommendation Against Discrimination. That document defines discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion or limitation or preference, which based on...birth [parent's ethnicity] has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education."

Says Tyler: "Both the UNESCO Recommendation and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted in 1989 provide that children have intrinsic rights as human beings, independent of the situation of their parents. It is discriminatory at the most basic level to attribute to or to remove rights from children based on some factual characteristic of their parents. To do so constitutes discrimination on the basis of birth or descent."

It creates a disparity, that individual Canadians like Tyler and others must appeal for justice to international bodies. Our own government should be protecting as Quebec's behavior is an international embarrassment and so derogation of the rule, and spirit, of our own laws.



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# Montreal faceoff

On the walls in Pierre Pettigrew's campaign headquarters is a huge color-coded map of Papineau/St-Michel. It paints a portrait in pink, yellow and blue of all 142 polls in the working-class riding in gritty southeast Montreal. And for Pettigrew, one of the two new Quebec stars in Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's cabinet, the picture that emerges is comforting. "The place has been Liberal for decades," Chrétien's elegant minister for international co-operation says as he runs a hand over the counterbalancing sea of pink dancing Liberal strongholds in past notes, and the sparse scattering of yellow indicating less-solid electoral strength. He browses through a luscious pair of steel-framed spectacles at a troublesome pair of blue in the riding's southeast corner, where the francophone separatist vote is concentrated. "We'll have some trouble down there," he admits, "but on the whole I'd have to say that at the moment our prospects on March 25 are looking pretty good."

So good, in fact, that Pettigrew and his team were hunting to rely in their confidence as the federal by-election campaign in Papineau/St-Michel entered its final week. "We been around enough elections to know that it's never over until the votes are counted," he cautioned early one morning last week as he prepared to embark on another punishing day of door-to-door campaigning. That is the main reason a pair of polls



## The Liberals are counting heavily on beating the Bloc



Top at the campaign trail taking jobs

Pettigrew greeting voter from Mills. "I'm an experienced businessman, not a professor"

fully expected to be the most closely fought. On the Chrétien's other new posterized-in recruit from Quebec, Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Stéphane Lévesque, was not band of a weighty lifelong vote. Don is running far their west in Montreal in St-Laurent/Carrierville, where francophones are outnumbered by anglophones and allophones, who together account for 68 per cent of voters. Former MP Shirley MacLean won the constituency with 70 per cent of the vote in 1995. And in last October's referendum, a massive 81 per cent of the riding's electorate voted No.

The situation is different in Papineau/St-Michel. Despite his longevity, Ouellet was returned in 1993 with 52 per cent of the vote while the Bloc managed a respectable 28 per cent. Close to two-thirds of the riding's electorate is francophone, something that may help to explain why the No side at the referendum won by a narrow margin—68 per cent to 35 per cent for the Yes—thus, in St-Laurent/Carrierville. What is more, Pettigrew faces a stronger field of opposing candidates than the largely silent competition confronting Lévesque. The Bloc decided to assist a reform, or stay, of its own in the person of David Turp, the 45-year-old University of Montreal constitutional lawyer and Bloc political adviser who emerged during the referendum campaign as an articulate spokesman for the separatist cause. The

Conservatives, too, retained a contender with credentials. Former Tory MP Rick Salvo Bay-Verde. When both the New Democrats and the Reform party also put forward candidates, it raised the possibility of splitting the relevant vote four ways. That would allow the Bloc to take the seat and, in the process, inflict a damaging blow on Chrétien's effort to refashion the government's national unity strategy.

For the moment, at least, the Bloc stands alone. Turp remains needed to that scenario, even though he maintains that economic issues are the main thrust of his campaign. "The unemployment rate around here is approaching 18 per cent," he remarked last week as he relaxed over a glass of beer after a long day on the hustings. "Everybody I've talked to wants to discuss jobs." At the same time, he acknowledged that even if his victory could have far-reaching implications. "A win in this riding would certainly do no harm to the cause of sovereignty," he said.

When the campaign began in late February, a Bloc victory was at least a possibility. But as the campaign enters the final stage, a new appears less likely. Despite the early promise, signs last week were that Turp's effort has not taken all. Part of the problem is the Bloc candidate himself. Although he has discarded his trademark bow tie, Turp appears both uncomfortable and out of place on the streets of Papineau/St-Michel, whose working-class population has switched in change in jobs in the riding's once booming textile factories led to low-wage developing countries. "He looks like what he is," remarked Turp's candidate Bay-Verde with some disdain, "a professor of constitutional law."

The Godard-educated Pettigrew suffers from the same snafu problem. The two are, in fact, much alike, a pair of cool and polished intellectuals in the best tradition of busy Outremont's upper-class francophone society. But while neither Turp nor Pettigrew has ever held elective office, the Bloc candidate is no stranger to the electoral hustings. He served a year as Ouellet's chief of staff in 1970 when he was urban affairs minister, then three more as then-Chief Liberal party leader Charest's policy coordinator, and a further three as a foreign policy adviser to former prime minister Pierre Trudeau. For the past decade, Pettigrew has been a vice-president at Seneca College in Toronto, a firm of international business consultants. "I'm an experienced businessman, not a university professor," he insists.

The network may be self-serving but it also runs tight. And, not surprisingly, Turp also has been unable to breach the solid federalist vote among the riding's ethnic minorities, in particular the two largest groups—Italians and Haitians. As for the riding's 12,000 African immigrants, their loyalties almost certainly lie elsewhere. "Only Rep-Africa, who speaks French Creole, is married to a leader member of the community. Dr. André Arvola. New Democrats Raymond Laurendeau is a Haitian immigrant, and the only candidate who lives and works in the riding. While this is a concern, it's not the same as the fact that his campaign literature dwells on the fact that he is personally acquainted with former Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide as well as his successor, current President René Préval. And just last week, Pettigrew announced that Canada will spend \$5.8 million on two aid projects in Haiti—spurring charges that the money is being used so much to buy votes in Montreal as to help displace creole in other cities. He underlined the Chrétien government's determination to make sure that, come next Monday, Pettigrew will be solely entrusted as the new MP for Papineau/St-Michel.

BARRY CAMBI in Montreal

## FIVE ON THE LINE

As in Papineau-St-Michel, political fortunes are on the line in the other by-election contests set for March 25. At stake is, among other things, the status of official Opposition in Parliament. With the Reform party and the Opposition Bloc Quebecers currently tied at 52 seats each, that race is key in the riding riding of **Edmonton North**. In the Alberta, the election of Joe Puchalski of Reform garnered 9,558 votes compared with now-departed international trade minister Roy MacLachlan's winning 28,119. This time around, the 32-year-old Puchalski is hoping to lead the party's campaign. "Beat the Bloc," will carry him

In contrast, the Montreal riding of **St-Laurent/Carrierville** is unlikely to feature any surprises. There, Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Stéphane Lévesque looks ready to cruise to victory. In fact, the opposition parties have apparently decided that the contest is not worth a serious fight, some of the candidates facing Lévesque have previous political experience or any profile in Quebec public life. Lévesque, the new election of Puchalski of Reform garnered 9,558 votes compared with now-departed international trade minister Roy MacLachlan's winning 28,119. This time around, the 32-year-old Puchalski is hoping to lead the party's campaign. "Beat the Bloc," will carry him

## Reform and the Bloc mount challenges



Back ready for victory

Reform also mounting a strong challenge in the traditional Liberal stronghold of **Edmonton**. Held for 26 years by veteran SDP Ramsey, the riding went to the Liberals in 1993 with 77.1 per cent of the vote. But a diverse Liberal opposition—former public servant Laurence O'Brien, 44, was overhauling Campaign Laysse, 26, a well-known veteran of regional municipal politics. But in spite of his experience, Laysse is waging an uphill struggle against the heavily favored Bloc. And if Reform fails to make any breakthrough, a Bloc victory in Edmonton will give the party a one-seat advantage—and continued status as Canada's official Opposition.

PIERRE HOPPELLE

# The Reform party's days of discontent

They make a striking pair of Canadians. He is a fading former Calgary Stampeder defensive back, golden-haired and firm of jaw. She is a vibrant former teacher who last year was rated by *The MSN Times* newspaper as the sexiest female member of Parliament. But in Ottawa MPs Jim Sifton and Jim Brown made the media rounds in Ottawa last week, their undeniable star qualities were something that party leader Preston Manning could really have done without. Unsett by reports that fellow Reform MP Art Hanger had intended to travel to Singapore to attend the arena of ongoing cricket, Sifton and Brown landed out of the "tribune" of some Reformers who, they said, threaten to forever relocate the party to the political margins. "I don't want to come back as a member of the third party on a fractured parliament on the opposite side," said Sifton. "I don't want to repeat this. Added Brown, who is a former socialist affairs critic: "I'm about as far right now as I want to go."

Following a midweek meeting of the 52-member Reform caucus—at which Sifton and Brown received a tongue-lashing from their colleagues for going public with their complaints—the caucus met in private for the first time since they had taken just a day earlier. It was, they took pains to explain, the perception that Reform was extremist, more than any real policy differences with the party, that led to their ouster. But while apparently chastened, Sifton and Brown continued to insist that Reform must present a more moderate, mainstream image if it ever hopes to form the next government. Brown, in particular, said that before the party's national policy convention set for June in Vancouver they will press his fellow Reformers to renounce some "uncompromising and hopeful messages" to the Canadian electorate, and to put more emphasis on social issues such as domestic violence, criminal rehabilitation and child poverty. "These are very real issues and so I talk about them freely," Brown told *Maclean's* after the caucus meeting. "I realize people are uncomfortable sometimes, but that is who I am and I will not change."

In part, the rift that surfaced last week reflects the lead of ideological cleavages that exist within any political movement. Despite its popular image as a party of the right, Reform also encompasses a divide along urban and rural lines, and between conservative and progressive voices



Brown, Manning (right), making the case for a more moderate image

## Caucus members question the party's direction

But the fact that these divisions are becoming public reflects another political reality: Reform is doing extremely in opinion polls and with the federal Liberal government is the midpoint of its first mandate, a time when opposition parties traditionally enjoy a surge in public support, the opposite is in fact happening.

According to the latest Angus Reid Group poll, conducted in late February only 33 per cent of decided Canadian voters support the Reform party. By comparison, the Liberals had 58 per cent, the Conservatives, 12 per cent, the Bloc Québécois, one per cent, and the NDP seven per cent. In as-

pects where Reform must do well to have any hope of forming a government, the news was just as bad. The Liberals led Reform by a 2-to-1 margin in British Columbia and by nearly a 3-to-1 margin in Ontario—a province where Reformers hoped to make a breakthrough in the March 23 by-election in the Toronto-area riding of Etobicoke North. Even in the Reform stronghold of Alberta, the Liberals enjoyed a slight edge (49 per cent to 36 per cent).

There is considerable debate in Reform ranks about what these numbers really mean—and what, if anything, can be done to turn them around. Most MPs, including Manning and caucus chairman Deborah Kelly, maintain that the polls are largely irrelevant. They say that Reform is a party that "rides the waves" of public opinion and tends to do well when voters are focused on issues at election time. "In July, 1995, we were at seven per cent in the polls and a few months later we won 53 seats," says Grey. "So I don't lie awake at nights worrying about the polls." But Reform MP Scott Martin, who represents the B.C. riding of Esquimalt/Juan de Fuca, says that his party colleagues are divided if they are cracking on a recent of the 1993 election phenomenon. "At that time, we had a Conservative government that was almost universally disapproved by the people," says Martin. "But today, the Liberals are the most disapproved of the major parties."

A 35-year-old physician and another Reform quadrennial, Martin fears that the party is doomed to remain a parliamentary rump of "between 40 and 60 seats" unless it dramatically changes course. And like many Reformers, progressives and conservatives alike, he is particularly galled at the way that the Liberals have co-opted Reform policies—anchoring spending the deficit, cracking down on crime and taking tough on Quebec—while at the same time killing Canadian law before they see it in the way of a Reform agenda. "Quebec's Ministry," they can just sit as a bunch of right-wing extremists through our views on

homosexual rights and gun laws and such—and they look like the weak, compassionate government that wants to care for the Canadian people. I have done as appealing job of running that around."

As Martin's comments suggest, though, Liberal criticism is just part of the Reform dilemma. Proactive positions like the one taken by Hanger, who personally supports using corporal punishment to discipline some serious criminals, means time and time again to boost the party. But there, too, Reform faces a unique set of internal tensions. As a self-proclaimed populist, grassroots party, it has enjoyed the success that it has in large part by filling in the social cracks of a wider Canadian public, including multiculturalists, ethnic bilingualism and a liberal immigration policy. Last week, Reformers were at it again, as Parliament debated a party motion that suggested Bloc Québécois MP Jean-Marc Jacob considered seceding by sending a motion to all military and police in Quebec last October.

In the release, Jacob appealed to soldiers to switch their loyalty to a Quebec military the "day after" a vote on Quebec's sovereignty referendum. It was a debate that the other parties did not want to have. The Liberals withdrew from the motion, renaming the word "seceding." But it is not that Reform MPs such as Jim Hanger, who introduced the resolution in Parliament, claim has strong grassroots support across the country. "I don't think this is an extreme position at all," says Hanger. "What I'm doing is following what many Canadians live in the rule of law."

Because of the nature of its party, Manning often performs a tightrope act. Last week, for example, he carefully avoided any open criticism of either Hanger's position or of the caucus moderates who spoke out against it. The strategy worked at an initial level, none of the critics had a raised voice to say about Manning's leadership.

But political observers such as Angus Reid say that Manning will have to be much more than that. He hopes to be seen as prime minister. The Vancouver-based pollster maintains that Reform is languishing in public opinion polls because the party seems to have little to say about the signs of greatest concern to Canadians, namely job creation and protecting the country's actual safety net. But Reid adds that all that could quickly change it, as seems likely, the next federal election is fought over national unity. "If that happens, watch out," says Reid. "Manning has the potential to provoke a growing frustration in English Canada with Quebec." It could, at last, he said, put the party back where it should be, to the point that last week were so apparent to their ranks.

BRYAN BERGMAN with JANE PERRY in Ottawa

# A new departure in the Airbus case

## The Mounties bring a key witness to Ottawa

George Pelousi, the silver-haired Swiss accountant whose allegations about payoffs during the Malruay years rocked the country in November, slipped out of Ottawa last week just as quietly as he had entered the city five days earlier. Pelousi spent the day giving a formal statement to the RCMP's confidential crime unit, which is investigating allegations that former prime minister Brian Mulroney may have accepted bribes—a charge that he vehemently denies. Pelousi has already given sworn statements about his allegations—made in a session with a European commission judge, last week's \$1.6-million sale of passenger



Pelousi, claims of secret payoffs and Swiss bank accounts

planes to Air Canada in 1988—to Swiss authorities who have been assisting the RCMP. "I was confirming everything I'd already told the public prosecutor in Switzerland," Pelousi told *Maclean's*. As evidence, he brought documents that, he said, showed the flow of payments. "The RCMP videotaped every interview and I had to sign every piece of paper."

Pelousi's trip to Ottawa last week was a sign that, however quiet, the investigation into the allegations that prompted Mulroney's 880-million lawsuit against the federal government and the RCMP is continuing. And, certainly, Pelousi is a key witness as a former associate of German-Canadian businessman Karlheinz Schröder, who represented Airbus in Canada, the aircraft manufacturer he was to sell that information. Through a Liechtenstein shell company, Pelousi says, Schröder signed a contract with Airbus in 1985 to accept commissions on the prospective Air Canada deal. And

Pelousi claims that Schröder told him that some of that money would be funnelled to Mulroney through Swiss bank accounts.

Schröder has denied those claims—and has won the fifth round, the CBC program which first broadcast the allegations, for \$55 million. Mulroney's lawsuit claims that the government was in breach of a 1985 contract for the RCMP's request for Swiss cooperation in its investigation—have benefited him. That case is now laid up in complex legal maneuvering. This week, lawyers for the former prime minister and the federal government are to appear in Quebec Superior Court to challenge the RCMP's request for Swiss cooperation in its investigation of whether Mulroney believed

the trial begins. His legal team, led by Montreal lawyer Gérard Tremblay, maintains that Ottawa missed a 10-day deadline for the underlying Mulroney, and that first client will be available for just two days of questioning—and only after the government has filed its statement of defence. "They told me to go by a date," said Claude-André St-Onge, the Montreal-based lawyer for the public department, adding that in 35 years of practicing law he has never known lawyers to refuse a date set by a judge. Mulroney's witnesses could be questioned. Mulroney's spokeswoman, Luc Lavoie, recently told reporters that Mulroney will not testify until the trial ends.

As the legal war gets hotter in Montreal, the case continues to be followed in the media. The *Starboard* based on Vancouver, *The Spokesman*, reported in late January that German tax investigators who have been investigating Schröder's activities discovered another shell company in Liechtenstein that accepted \$1.6 million, Deutsche marks (\$256 million) in commissions from Mulroney's board, Thyssen AG, also represented by Schröder, on sales of tanks to Saudi Arabia. The magazine said the authorities have traced the money to several German politicians, including a former defence minister, Holger Klein. Although those politicians denied accepting bribes, the continuing revelations are a sign that the fallout from the Airbus affair is far from over.

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## TOUGH TIMES AHEAD

Quebec Premier Minister Bernard Landry and the province's gloomy financial situation may force the Parti Québécois government to introduce user fees on a variety of services, including highways. But Landry said he hoped Quebec, which now has a projected budget deficit of \$5.5 billion, can avoid the harsh cuts that occurred in Ontario and Alberta. This week, the government is holding an economic conference that will include provincial politicians, business leaders and labor representatives.

## FIGHTING OVER FUR

Canada's northern Metis feel the Dutch government to court over the Netherlands' Jan. 1 ban on imports of 13 species of wild fur. The Metis, who argued their case before a Dutch court in The Hague, say that the Dutch ban was imposed in spite of a European Union agreement to delay for one year a ban on fur imports from countries using legal trade. A decision is expected on March 28.

## TORIN'S NEW CABINET

Newfoundland Premier Brian Tobin named a new cabinet that includes a record four women. Four of the Liberal women elected on Feb. 22, Tobin appointed former mayor Sheila Kelly and Julie Bethune, former premier Clyde Wells' executive assistant. Judy Fodor, and Joan Marie Aylward, former head of the Newfoundland and Labrador nurses' union.

## MARCH BREAK MURDER

Mark Pyles, an 18-year-old high school student from Belleville, Ont., was shot dead on March 15 as he was calling home to Canada from a pay phone on the main sidewalk boulevard in Daytona Beach, Fla. Pyles, who was in Florida for spring break, was the fourth Canadian tourist murdered in that state since December 1992.

## HOCKEY CHARGES LAID

Police in Sherbrooke laid assault charges against four University of Montreal hockey players in connection with the attack on referee Brian Coughlin after the New Brunswick team lost its Feb. 24 season finale to the University of Prince Edward Island. Montreal's assistant coach Patrick Dussault, fired after the incident, was also charged with damage to property. All five are due to appear in court on April 25.

## An attempt at reconciliation in Quebec

The performance garnered mixed reviews. On March 11, Quebec Premier Lucien Bouchard reached out to Quebec anglophones, delivering a conciliatory speech to an invitation-only audience of 400 at the historic Centre Theatre in Montreal. In his address, which was carried live on local English language TV stations, Bouchard said that the strong No vote in last October's referendum among English Quebecers was "perfectly legitimate." And, he added, while another referendum vote in the future would again raise tensions, Quebecers should now work together to improve the province's economic prospects. "I know full well that to have a dialogue, more than one person has to speak," Bouchard said. "Someone has to make the first move—that's why I'm here."

Reactions to the premier's initiative varied. Prominent Montreal lawyer Peter Blaikie, a former head of the English-speaking organization Alliance Québécoise, called Bouchard's speech "skilful." Of special importance, Blaikie said, were Bouchard's graceful words about the anglophone community's No vote—a "direct slap in the face" to former premier Jacques Parizeau and his referendum-right movement that the sovereigntyists currently lost.



Bouchard, reaching out to anglophones

the Oct. 30 vote because of "money and the ethnic vote." Others, though, said they had expected more. Declared Alliance Quebec president Michael Heesley: "There might have been good intentions, but as the expression goes, 'Where's the beef?' The controversy needs very concrete gestures and actions."

## BIGGEST SENATOR

## Krever wins a legal round

A Federal Court judge in Toronto ruled that Justice Horace Krever, head of the commission of inquiry into Canada's cultural blood scandal, does not have to make the confidential source

of an anonymous and confidential public. Ruling to dismiss a Canadian Red Cross Society suit, Justice George Ridsdale said that it is not just one who "had access to information" (Krever's definition) but "the world's best" who are part of a larger legal system against the commission by the Red Cross. Krever and provincial governments, pharmaceutical companies and others deny wrongdoing.

a particularly view of Krever's mandate. In particular, they want to stop Krever from assigning blame for the scandal, which now thousands of Canadians infected with either AIDS or hepatitis C. Krever's blood transfusions in the 1980s. Any such questions by Krever, the province's law could provide the basis for future civil or criminal proceedings.

## Butting out in Vancouver

Anti-tobacco lobbyists attacked Vancouver's decision to ban smoking in restaurants as a break-through—one that may soon extend to the city's suburbs and make the metropolitan Vancouver area the largest urban region in Canada to ban smoking in restaurants. The bylaw, which will be enforced starting at the



Smoking in a restaurant, banned

beginning of next year, encompasses bars, nightclubs and casinos from the new smoking provision, and will allow smoking in restaurants only if an establishment sets aside a separately ventilated room for its smoking patrons. That while anti-tobacco lobbyists celebrated, the smoking ban left restaurant industry spokesmen fuming. They said that it will reduce business.



Hamilton (left); Mayer and others before the killing; grieving parents. "My first teacher care of you like this world did"



**World** A misfit's pursuit of revenge ends in a massacre in the gym of a Scottish primary school

# A parent's nightmare

Dumpy, balding and bespectacled, he did not look like a demonic angel of death. But at mid-morning on March 13, 43-year-old Thomas Watt Hamilton, social misfit and suspected child molester, was about to distract much of the world from its misery over the threats to peace in the Taiwan Strait and the Middle East. Shortly after 9:00 a.m. on that wintery Wednesday, he came across snow-covered playing fields towards the primary school in the central Scottish town of Dunblane. He wore eye protectors and a cap pulled down over his forehead and he carried four automatic pistols. When he reached the schoolyard, he fired several shots into the air. Still firing, he barged through the double doors in the entrance, scattering terrified staff, students and teachers, and headed for the gym. There, in just three minutes, he shot and killed 36 five- and six-year-old firstgraders and their teacher, Gwenore Myers, 44. Then he killed himself with a single shot to the head.

Police and ambulance crews from nearby Stirling, summoned by phone, stumbled onto scenes surpassing a horror movie—small bodies in piles around the gym and teachers, covered in blood, trying to keep the remaining wounded. William Wilson, Central Scotland's chief constable, looked down while trying to describe what he saw. An ambulance crew chief John McEwan said the gym offered "a cruel vision of hell." A headmistress by the assassin's body, McEwan said, "and I had this overwhelming desire to euthanise

that corpse." Headmaster Ron Taylor said, "End visited us yesterday." Townspeople lined the front of the school with staffed animals and bouquets bearing messages. "May God take better care of you than this world ever did," one said.

The massacre of the innocents—and the wounding of 12 classmates and two other teachers—shattered Britain and touched off outrage and doubled awesomeness. French President Jacques Chirac deplored the atrocity and the Irish parliament observed a moment's silence. British Prime Minister John Major, visiting the shell-shocked community of 7,500 on Friday, spoke of "a horror of almost unimaginable proportions." He said the country's already stringent gun-control law would be re-examined, and his minister responsible for Scotland told the House of Commons that he had ordered a public inquiry. Under the gun law, tightened after the 1987, assault weapons and some rifles are illegal.

And police will deny a firearms license to anyone with a criminal record or a history of mental illness.

Despite his erratic behavior and widespread suspicion in the community that he was a pedophile, Hamilton's membership in a Dunblane gun club entitled him to a license for firearms, which he was authorized to use only on the premises. However, he had been refused entrance to another club after members became

suspicious of his character—and entirely for good reason. In the opinion of the people among whom he lived, Hamilton was an angry, paranoid, gun-happy, perverted leech.

He had evidently exhibited those characteristics for some time. In 1974, he was fired as a boy scout worker for what the scoutmaster called "unstable and possibly improper behavior following a scout camp." In the 1980s, he began opening clubs for boys, some of whom later said he touched them suggestively, took their pictures and made them run around in their underwear. When a police breaker down the door of his home on First Road in Stirling, they found a huge collection of photos of boys clad only in shorts or bathing suits.

That discovery confirmed the worst fears of the community. Dunblane resident W. John McEwan said there had been persistent rumors that Hamilton was sexually perverted. "We always told the boys that they should never be left in the shower," he said. McEwan's 15-year-old son Stuart, who quit a club four years ago, recalled that Hamilton made them sleep to the worst "hard rock" on their cassette. Then he'd just look at us," Cathleen Kerr, the father's 71-year-old neighbor, said he was "very creepy" because he would look straight through you." Kay Wright, who works in Dunblane's Kees Scotland Research office, thought Hamilton was "a bit of a leech." But to 14-year-old Liam Nelson, "he was evil." In 1983, after stories of his perversities had become commonplace, Hamilton closed some of his clubs.

Only hours before he embarked on his mindless rampage, Hamilton distributed copies of protest letters he had written over the years to the local council, national politicians, in parents—even to the Queen.

The BBC got copies of seven letters the day after the massacre. In his letter to the Queen, written five days earlier, Hamilton even complained that the police had falsely accused him of being a sex offender. "As well as my personal distress and loss of public standing, this situation has also resulted in loss of business and ability to earn a living," he wrote. "Indeed, I cannot even walk the streets for fear of embarrassing ridicule."

In 1983, the year after he closed some boys' clubs, Hamilton wrote to Scottish Secretary Michael Forsyth to blame "overzealous police officers... obsessed with child abuse." That same year, he wrote to parents, urging them to ignore the rumors and send their children to his seasonal summer camp. "I cannot understand why you have not looked your boy for this stupid error which is held for the benefit and enjoyment of children his age."

At week's end, Dunblane's parents spoke of their anger and pain and overwhelming sense of loss. Lynne McMaster, pregnant with her sixth child, remembered her daughter Victoria leaving for school. "She said my bye-bye to me as she went down the path wearing, looking back and laughing. 'What am I going to do without her?' Mike North, a professor at Stirling University, became a widower two years ago when his wife died of cancer. His daughter Sophie was among the 16 who died. James Ross lost his 19-year-old granddaughter. "I took her to school this morning and later she was dead," he said. In an editorial, Britain's Daily Telegraph commented: "The murder of children is the ultimate act of evil." For the sorrowing people of Dunblane, the test has begun and will not soon be over.



Floral tributes outside the school: a trait of faith

Hamilton with gym pupils, rumors of perversion



NAK CORRIE with TIM BAZLER in Dunblane



Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui defies and China's ethnic attitudes

Beijing  
escalates  
its war  
exercises as  
the island's  
election nears



Chinese President Jiang Zemin: the military aid could be ending the straits

## A dangerous game over Taiwan

In this sandy beach, verdant hills and picturesque fishing villages would make Quemoy an idyllic resort—were it not for its unfortunate location. Sitting just 1,500 m off China's northeastern coast, on the island, the Taiwan Strait, the island has long been an armed camp. The shoreline bristles with spikes to lead landing operations. Gunners atop camouflage watchtowers stand ready to track their anti-aircraft batteries as enemy planes. And last week, platoon of soldiers in combat gear patrolled roads and beach on an high alert. Yet even as tensions between China and Taiwan reached levels not seen since the mainland launched a 64-day barrage of shells on Quemoy in 1958, killing 600, few of the island's 30,000 residents seemed alarmed. "There's no feeling of war here," asserted fisherman Lee Heben 96, as he squatted by the roadside, clearing his catch. "We've gone through so much as the past, this is nothing in comparison. We're not afraid in the least."

That theme was echoed by defiant Taiwanese officials from President Lee Teng-hui on down. But there was no denying that the island was feeling one of its most serious tests since Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists fled the mainland at the close of China's civil

war in 1949 and proceeded on to turn Taiwan into an anti-Communist bastion and an economic dynamo. From March 8 to 15, China conducted ballistic missile tests at two sites only 36 km off Taiwan's north and south coasts. Then, on March 12, the Chinese military launched eight days of two-dimensional war games off Fujian province just south of Quemoy. They involved 150,000 troops, warships and fighter aircraft, effectively sealing off all of the southern approach to the Taiwan Strait. And as these exercises continued, Beijing announced a new seven-day set of maneuvers beginning on March 18, this time farther north and closer yet to Taiwan's coast. Taken together, they were by far the most threatening in a series of military exercises as many China began holding in the region last July, soon after Washington, reversed policy and allowed Lee to visit the United States



U.S. carrier Independence: hope for China in the region

The standoff quickly became a test, too, between the world's current superpower and a superpower-to-be. The United States, worried about what it called China's "risky and reckless" actions, dispatched two aircraft carriers and 10 support ships to the area—one of the largest concentrations of U.S. naval power in Asian waters since the

Vietnam War. Secretary of State Warren Christopher predicted "grave consequences" if China tried to use force against Taiwan. Washington deliberately avoided spelling out what would trigger U.S. intervention, or what form it would take. President Bill Clinton found himself balancing the conflicting demands of a growing pro-Taiwanese lobby, businessmen anxious to maintain access to China's huge market, and the possibility that a blip could affect his reelection chances. "It is very delicate for the President," a White House official told *Maclean's*. "He is trying to calm both sides."

China remained adamant. President Jiang Zemin told delegates attending the National People's Congress, China's rubber-stamp parliament, "Our policy on Taiwan is peaceful reunification, but we will not renounce the use of force." Pentagon officials, however, said the Chinese had no interest in Washington that they "do not intend to take any military action against Taiwan."

Chinese leaders admitted scheduling the war games to coincide with Taiwan's first democratic presidential elections on March 23, which the latest exercises will open. Beijing is clearly bent on scaring waters away from Lee, 73, who it believes is

overs. Independence for the island despite his public support for eventual reunification with the mainland. Unbeknownst, Lee told an audience in Taipei: "The 23 million people of Taiwan should be confident despite the storms and, with dignity, choose the first democratically elected president in China's 5,000-year history."

For all their defiance, Taiwanese authorities were taking no chances. They tested all emergency plans in case of attack, organizing volunteers into medical, firefighting, food distribution and engineering teams. Throughout the island, bomb shelters that had not been used in years were cleared of debris. The preparations gave many Taiwanese a sense of the stakes. Elderly people stockpiled cash, while others hoarded gold and U.S. dollars. Banks ran out of groceries and had to fly in plantains of large bills from the United States. Bookings for offshore flights doubled. Even before the crisis, emigration was popular, especially among wealthy, better-educated young Taiwanese. Their favorite destination in Canada, since 1989, more than 7,000 a year have moved to the country, primarily to Vancouver. The flow is bound to increase, despite Canada's own crisis over accession. "Finally, my cousin of Quebec," said Stanley Yeh, a wealthy Taiwanese hotel manager who owns the Landa Hotel in Seattle in Vancouver. "People there express themselves without threats of missiles from Canada."

Given the restrained most Taiwanese felt towards the mainland, the touch of nerves was understandable. Latest polls indicated the majority believe that war will break out automatically that Western diplomats said it would be easy for China to inflict a missile, leading to retaliation. "If anyone can make a mistake, it's this lot," said a Beijing-based analyst. "It would be like throwing a bomb into a powder factory," added a veteran Western diplomat.

China is facing no military obstacles over Taiwan because the leadership feels the "integrity of the motherland" is at stake. "Taiwan is already an independent nation in reality, and China feels it has nothing to lose, especially in the face of democratic elections," said the diplomat. That is understandable to Beijing leaders, who regard it as a solemn duty to keep together a country that has often been fragmented in its long dynastic history. "There is no more serious and emotional issue in China than sovereignty over Taiwan," said Huanxing Gao, an Asian affairs expert at the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies. "No Chinese leader could stay in power if he allowed Taiwan to declare total independence. It is the one issue on which there is unity in China."

Even so, a hard-charging current power struggle still separates leader Deng Xiaoping, 91, continues to weaken. Many

observers believe that old-guard Maoist generals are calling the shots on Taiwan, siding once again with the People's Liberation Army's "bold units to defend national unity"—and effectively sidelining President Jiang and other moderate figures. "By staging these exercises, the weak leadership is trying to please the Chinese military and secret police," said Jonathan Leites, Denver-based author of *Spyglass*, a study of the Chinese use of force. That has fueled worries that cooler heads might not prevail. Senior military leaders have often said they would rather destroy Taiwan and take over a smoldering ruin than let it go independent.

In the end, China's attempt to use military might to intimidate Taiwanese voters is backfiring. The most recent polls indicate that, for the first time, more people support independence than formal reunification, although the vast majority still favors the status quo. This doesn't mean that Taiwan is a part of China, while quietly setting up with the Chinese and are seeking the status of an independent entity. And Li, a Canadian political scientist living in Taipei, said reunification still has powerful emotional appeal. "But the present Chinese threat is forcing people to confront the myth with the reality. They're getting away from China and are asking themselves: Do we want to remain so close with these people? Are they really our brothers if they treat us this way?"

Just what China hopes to accomplish politically is unclear. In December's parliamentary election, a lesser sense of Chinese military crisis appears to have driven many voters to a party that backed Hainan relations with China. But there is little scope for that scenario this time. President Lee's main rival is Peng Mengmei of the Democratic Progressive Party, which backs outright independence. Another, Li Sheng, is an old guard who favors reunification, but not on Beijing's terms. The last, Chen Lien, supports friendly relations with China, but is commonly regarded as a quietist dreamer. Lee's government has been under fire for overconfidence, but the latest exercises and most analysts expect him to win big thanks to the courage over China's mounting maneuvers and various broadheads.

Beijing has denounced Lee as "the sinner of all sinners," a "prostitute" and a "scholar" destined for "the dustbin of history." At the rest of China's first in Lee's aggressive foreign policy Taipei has launched foreign "gifts" on poor nations to get them to officially recognize Taiwan. Several were the latest to succumb last fall. There are now 31 countries that have diplomatic relations with Taiwan, but Lee wants more. "Five to ten more nations, with his offer of a billion dollars in aid, will be enough. I believe if Taiwan were granted a seat, most

# WORLD

members—including Canada, which recognizes only the main land—oppose the idea.

The last straw for Beijing was Lee's so-called private visit last June to his alma mater, McGill University—the first ever visit to the United States by a Taiwanese president, and a move viewed by Beijing as the most blatant step yet toward official recognition and independence.

What particularly galled Beijing were U.S. assurances that Lee would not be granted a visa, only to have that change in the last minute following intense congressional pressure. "The flip-flop made China very angry," said Michael Kana, a professor of political science at Brown University. "They lost face."

Lee's critics in Taiwan have attacked him for unnecessarily provoking Beijing. But Kana, a native Taiwanese who also heads a Taipei-based think-tank, contends that the president has largely been driven by popular sentiment. "National dignity, the value of the Taiwan passport, Taiwan's push for admission to the United Nations—those are all election-generated issues, spilling over into the international arena," he notes. "Lee is under a lot of domestic pressure on this."



### Balance of forces

	TAIWAN	CHINA
Armed forces	376,000	2.5 million
ICBMs	0	17
Medium-range missiles	0	70
Fighter aircraft	15*	400
Subs	570	7,500-8,000
Major warships	38	50
Destroyers	22	16
Submarines	4	52

\*Taiwan will begin receiving 120 advanced F-16 fighters from the United States next year.

Available or not, the current tensions are creating havoc for Taiwan's export-driven economy. The missile tests and war games have been conducted close to Keelung and Keelung, the large ports that handle 70 per cent of Taiwan's trade. Financial markets have been badly hit. The government is spending part of its massive foreign-exchange reserves to prop up the currency and prevent a crash in the stock market. S&P share prices have dropped 17 per cent since Beijing began warning up the last last summer.

China is getting back at Lee. Taiwanese investment on the mainland tops \$20 billion, while cross-strait trade has mushroomed to more than \$28 billion. While few of the 20-300 Taiwan companies on the mainland have announced they are pulling out, new

making any changes in its current holdings, either in Taiwan or Canada," he said. "But I'm quite sure I won't be investing on the mainland for the time being."

For now, China seems to be shoring up all its demands in its hawkish stance, including rising anxieties in nearby Hong Kong over the way Beijing is handling the crisis. The official Chinese media have tactfully trumpeted the party line, and few Beijing residents care to contradict it. A truck driver named Xu Xianxiang, "We'd be for sure if we bought Taiwan, even if the States helped them."

In fact, few Western military analysts agree with that view, given the island's strong air defenses. Most doubt that war will break out. Gen. John Shalhoub, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, said recently that China, despite superior numbers of arms and people, does not have what it takes to launch an invasion of Taiwan, and that intelligence reveals the Chinese military is "not gathering the kind of forces and the kind of support that you would need to conduct that kind of operation." Even so, most regional players, from Japan to Singapore, support the bordering American naval presence. "If China is allowed to proceed unchecked," said one diplomat, "the power vacuum in the region would be filled by China. That's too destabilizing in East Asia and the Pacific."

Yet despite the firm U.S. show of support, Washington is unhappy with Lee's approach. Many officials now regret granting his visa last year. "In this post," said an administration source last week, "we are talking very carefully, but very quietly, to the Taiwanese leadership and telling it to get back to the status quo. They have got to back away from this independence movement. The United States does not support it." Once the Taiwanese election is over, many diplomats in China believe Lee should mullish his re-election campaign. "Even if they know Taiwan is, de facto, independent," said one. "What more do they want?" China will be watching very closely how Taiwan—and its voters—answer that question.

LUCKE McVILL is living with TONYAN VAN DER MEER in Taipei and WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington.

## program schedule

- 7:00 **EARLY EDITION** WITH ANNE PETRE
- 8:00 **THE LEAD** WITH ALISON SMITH
- 8:30 **FACE OFF** WITH CLAIRE HOY & JUDY REBICK
- 9:00 **PAMELA WALLIN LIVE**
- 10:00 **NEWSWORLD MARQUEE**
- 11:00 **THE NATIONAL** WITH PETER MANSBRIDGE
- 11:30 **THE NATIONAL SPORTS** WITH BRUCE DOWNES

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## WORLD

# Countering terror with summit theatre

**T**errorism isn't a new crime. There was a time when the most dramatic moment of the day was "Carlo's" landing, better remembered by his flashier son de guerre, the Jackal. The swaggering Carlos landed and shot his way across France and the Middle East in the 1970s and '80s, applauded by a political fringe that romanticized his vague ideology as the stuff of revolution. Carlos is now an Israeli-wanted shadow of his former self, imprisoned in a French jail since 1994 on a murder charge. He is infinitely unthreatening for a team of Canadian and American filmmakers to have mastered the courage and \$50 million to make a movie about his violent life. It is called *Jedidi*.

Twenty million dollars comes in handy when art must include life. Special effects on blow-up cars is opposite glory without anyone actually getting hurt. But the filmmakers were not prepared for the terror of the real thing: four gruesome suicide bombings in Israel since Feb. 25, with the Islamic extremist group Hamas threatening more to come. *Jedidi's* producers alerted filming in Israel last week and flew to Cyprus to scout a local location.

As in the movies, there was plenty of illusion on show last week in the Middle East. Diplomacy conducted at a Red Sea sailboat resort called Sharm el-Sheikh. Twenty-seven

ministers did convene an extremely short notice for the so-called Summit of the Presidents, gathering to find their principles on the long Egyptian desert strip. And it was significant that several Arab states, historically indifferent to Israeli suffering, condemned the recent terror attacks. But there was little substance to match the theatre. "The racism is the message," a Canadian official said on the eve of the summit, attempting to explain why Israelis were angry.

The key debate was over how to treat the government of Iran, which was not invited. The United States and Israel blame Iran for subsidizing a network of Islamic terrorists. "Terrorism is not unambiguous," an anguishing Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres told the conference. "It has a name, an address, a bank account. It is sponsored by a country." Iran, Tehran has become the capital of terror. "But neither there nor U.S. President Bill Clinton was able to persuade their allies to put their money where their mouths were and break

*Glasgow (centre) is flanked by Peres (left) and Mubarak (right) as the ambassadors take a stroll near the Red Sea; the meeting is the message, said a Canadian official*

trade ties with Iran. "An embargo, or rejection, would only help the extremists," French President Jacques Chirac said in explaining why he opposed global sanctions against Tehran.

In fact, many experts say Syria, not Iran, is the main sponsor of international terrorism. Syria refused to attend—but escaped censure by the leaders, even fearful pop-soulful peace talks. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien said that Canada "has no list of rogue states. And he balked at identifying Iran, which buys \$260 million worth of Canadian wheat annually, as a sponsor of terrorism. "I don't know, I've not been there for a long time," was Chrétien's explanation for why Ottawa would not single out Tehran as a sinister Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy, who accompanied Chrétien to the red-dunes of Sharm el-Sheikh, was more forth-



GARRY GILLOTT  
UN ASSASSINATION  
BRUCE WALLACE  
IN EGYPT

coming. On the flight home, he told reporters that Ottawa would probably support any proposed UN sanctions against Iran—though that is an unlikely prospect at best—but Ottawa did not intend to make explicit, unambiguous gestures of its own. "If we go it alone, we don't have the clout," said Axworthy simply. Like the United States and Israel announced a follow-up conference in Washington on March 28, which they hoped would again look at the question of Iran.

Peres was more successful in wrestling tangible counterterrorism measures by doing directly with Clinton. The president gave Peres a list home from Egypt in Air Force

of class. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, who had given a needed boost to Peres, who must persuade voters not to repudiate the peace process he represents in elections set for May 29.

Indeed, many Israeli officials to suspect Peres of being soft in his dealings with Palestinians. It is an accusation that has trailed the 70-year-old politician throughout his career, denying him the public affection he craves and the prime minister's job he never won in an election. "This is not a trade fair," says his biographer and friend Matt Golub. "Peres should be the undisputed leader of the nation at this time, but he has this credibility problem and it bothers him. He's always asking, 'Why don't they like me? Why don't they trust me?'"

Golub argues that the real Peres does not match his image. "Most of his life, he was a hawk, a hardliner," Golub said last week. In fact, Peres was the man who headed arms procurement in the

disruptive early days of the Jewish state, even negotiating with Germany for buy military hardware. He is the father of the Israeli nuclear program, and was defense minister when Israeli special forces raided a hijacked plane in Kenyan airport in Uganda in 1968 to free civilian hostages from Palestinian terrorists. But it is the soft language of his crusade for a "new" Middle East, a world of peace and place where Arabs and Jews live peacefully together, that leads more easily

to violence than to peace.

Even in the dark hours of the current crisis, Peres will not abandon his political faith. "Yesterday's enemies are gathered here today as partners for a better tomorrow. There will be a new Middle East," he insisted in his on-foot speech to the leaders, grouped around the left table in Sharm el-Sheikh. "Those against get him genuine affliction in the West," notes Golub. "But he's too sophisticated for any tricks. He keeps his cool, and believes in a few human good men, who used to survive and shoot what things went wrong. Peres has difficulty showing his emotions, so he is not a trust him."

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**World leaders denounce bombers—but not their patrons**



Palestinians rioted up in Israel's crackdown on Hamas' harsh

rights advocate throughout his career, would not condemn Israel's decision to fight Hamas by putting an entire people face. "The core essence of a nation-state is protecting its citizens," he said on the flight home from Egypt. "I don't think there is a set standard in this area." It was a contradiction in keeping with the ragged arena that, at Sharm el-Sheikh, all was not quite as it seemed.

With MAURICE SHOMAN in Amman



# Thinking about a vice-president

Bob Dole prepares to fight Clinton

Reporters covering Bob Dole's quest for the U.S. presidency joke that his campaign suffers from "an excitement gap." Was refer to the taciturn Senate majority leader as Bob Dole and Bob Dole. Late-night TV comedies deliver cutting one-liners about the 72-year-old Republican. (David Letterman: "When Bob Dole first ran for office it was such a case there were only 13 colonies.") Dole himself, when asked the straight man, seemingly unable to even articulate why he should lead the nation. "We've never had a president named Bob," he told a bemused Atlanta audience. "So I think it's about time." Through the first half of the state-by-state nomination races, Dole's own voters told pollsters they wished they had a better candidate. But last week, with a seventh state swing in the so-

REPORT FROM WASHINGTON  
BY CARL HOLLINS

called Super Tuesday contests—his second major victory in a week—did Bob Dole prove that, in the right circumstances, slow and steady can beat hilly-bos in America's tumultuous politics.

The eight consecutive for Dole included the fact that younger and potentially more appealing campaigners had declined to run, notably retired military chief Colin Powell. Powerful party colleagues—especially allies of the religious right in a pivotal test in South Carolina on March 3—refused to Dole against renegade Republican Pat Buchanan and far-right advocate Steve Forbes. Those circumstances, along with Dole's \$50-million campaign purse, carried him beyond February setbacks into a March victory parade that was joined by defectors from Buchanan's base, the Christian Coalition.

On his way to continue the work in Madison, Ohio and Illinois and the expected nomination check in California on March 26, only Buchanan remains to harm Dole's advance. By the middle of last week, Forbes had quit and thrown his support to the leader. "I appreciate it very much," allowed Dole, uncharacteristically. "I'm happy to have him as part of our team."

Capturing a controlled audience before April is a party sacred to the compressed



Dole working from his Washington office balcony after Super Tuesday win straightened

1990 primary election timetable. It means an early start to the campaign for the New 2 contest between Dole and President Bill Clinton. And it sets up a unique situation whereby their campaigns will color government activity for six months, as the Senate leader and the President wrestle over legislation and executive action pending Senate

consent. Complicating Dole's future is the need to rebuild Republican party unity before its mid-August convention in San Diego. Dole must avoid alienating Republican factions through his actions as Senate leader or in his choice of vice-presidential candidate. Sure to be looking over Dole's shoulder is the distant Buchanan. He has vowed to fight at the convention for party acceptance of his first choice, Buchanan. He has even hinted at leading his followers out of the party. "Somebody's going to have to represent the folks who have voted for me," he said, "and if the door is slammed in their face, then I'm going to have to consider what I'm going to do."

Picking a running mate is an especially sensitive matter for Dole. Christian Coalition leader Ralph Reed has signaled that his group's support depends on the Republican nominee choosing a partner who, like Dole, opposes abortion. Dole, nevertheless, opposed a bid last week for Goldwater, an abortion-rights supporter. Powell, in announcing last November that he would not run for the presidency, also rejected a vice-presidential role. But recent opinion polling, while placing Clinton ahead of Dole, puts a Dole-Powell pairing narrowly ahead of Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore. And Dole, noting that Powell "has responded where-

er his country needed him," asserted that Powell "would pick up again" if asked to run. Not so, countered Powell's chief Ken DeBorja, saying Powell "wouldn't do it" in November.

Speculation on an alternative to Powell has spread among an array of state governors, including California's Pete Wilson, New Jersey's Christine Whitman and William Weld of Massachusetts—all supporters of abortion rights. More highly rated are three governors in the Midwest, a key November battleground: Michigan's John Engler, Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson and Ohio's George Voinovich. All are Catholics, balancing Methodist Dole. But Dole is deeply in debt to former South Carolina governor Carroll Campbell, a popular anti-abortion Republican with national influence who is credited with the turning-point Dole victory in Campbell's state.

Political scientist Merle Black at Atlanta's Emory University says Bob Dole is simply not a strong candidate. "He cannot truly express a message very well. He's a closed-door politician. Close the door and you give me something. I'll give you something and we'll make a deal." Black says. By that measure, Dole may succeed in taking his choice candidate into being his running mate. But the assessments of Black and many others suggest that Dole would be wise to pick someone who can close "the excitement gap," and perhaps do most of his public talking for him. □



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[ Infiniti I30 ]

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the J.D. Power Survey on Initial Quality in 1995. Incidentally, Infiniti came first overall as a carline in that same survey. Over the years, both the Q45 and the G25 have also won their fair share of recognition. If you want to know more about Infiniti, call 1-800-361-4352 for a free product brochure. As for winning awards, we realize that's only one measure of a car. For another, perhaps more compelling, we highly recommend a test drive.

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1995 J.D. Power and Associates Award for Best Initial Quality Study based on NAAT consumer responses with 123 participating dealer reported problems during the first 90 days. Automotive Journalism Association of Canada

## World NOTES

### BACK TO THE U.S.S.R.

Russia's parliament voted to reverse the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union into 15 countries. President Boris Yeltsin said he will block the Communist-backed move. But the vote raised fears over a potential Communist win in June's presidential election. Former Soviet republics are fiercely independent and would fight moves to restore Moscow's hegemony.

### ANGRY AT AUSCHWITZ

Israeli, Polish and German leaders are opposing the June opening of a shopping mall within the prohibited zone surrounding the former Nazi death camp Auschwitz. The center was approved by the International Auschwitz Memorial Council because it conformed to building specifications sensitive to the site's history. But new protests erupted from camp survivors and Jewish groups.

### GAME OVER IN INDIA

World Cup cricket fans in Calcutta bursted on the Indian national team, setting fires and throwing rocks and bottles into the field, in anger that their side was losing. The match never entered the game to Sri Lanka and called off play due to rioting—the first time in World Cup history.

### ARRESTING THE MOB

U.S. prosecutors indicted 17 members of a Detroit organized crime family led by Jack William Baccus, on 35 charges that date back to 1996. The suspected mobsters, arrested after a five-year FBI infiltration, range in age from 32 to over 60. The charges include illegal gambling, extortion, arson, assault and conspiracy to commit murder.

### RISK FROM CHICKEN

A study of the U.S. poultry industry (incubated chicken and turkey carcasses swimming in a "fecal soup" of contaminants from the contents of their own intestines). Scientists say the industry uses practices that spread bacteria such as salmonella and E. coli. The U.S. department of agriculture says four million Americans become sick and 3,000 die from meat and poultry poisoning each year.

### ATTACK IN BAHRAIN

Muslim men ambushed a Bahrain restaurant, killing seven. Shia Muslims have mounted violent protests against the Sunni Muslim-dominated government of the Gulf island state.



Flames pour from a bicycle factory in the Srebrenice suburb of Niksic, leveled in 1995.

### A FIERY PEACE:

A new Muslim-Croat police force sent additional officers to help stop the looting, arson and assaults that have hampered the transfer of five Srebrenice suburbs from Serbian control to the Muslim-Croat Federation run in charge of the Bosnian capital. NATO peacekeepers said federation leaders had not done enough to discourage angry Bosnians from intimidating remaining Serbs, leaving them little choice but to flee. The last suburb was to change hands on March 18. At a meeting in Ankara, Turkey, meanwhile, the United States and European nations failed to agree on a controversial U.S. plan to re-arm the Muslim-Croat government.

## New chapters on Whitewater

The U.S. first couple received an unsettling blow to their image from a new book detailing Hillary Clinton's involvement in the Whitewater land scandal, current

bragging about women "throwing themselves" at him once he became governor of Arkansas. Hillary is said to have repeatedly refused to sell the pair's disused White water



Hillary Clinton paying for Clinton

shores. Grounding of investment partners Jim and Susan McDougal that the scheme provided for her daughter's future. "Not Jim told me that this was going to pay for college for Chelsea," Hillary reportedly told Susan in 1992. "I still expect it to do that." The McDougal, former friends of the Clintons who are now on trial on bank fraud charges related to the case, were the main sources for the book.

## Blaming the United Nations for Rwanda

A report on the 1994 genocide in Rwanda said politics and foot-dragging at the highest levels of the United Nations prevented the world body from stopping off the disaster. The study, begun by Rwanda but supported by 18 countries including Canada, said the United Nations had information on Hutu plans for a coup and a killing campaign as early as five months before the crisis erupted. It says the Security Council was reluctant to commit money and troops to the region, contributing to the rising massacre of more than 800,000 Tutsi and Hutu. Instead of leading up a UN force already in Rwanda under Canadian command, the council pulled out most of the troops. The United Nations later spent \$1.9 billion on a relief effort.



# Gold in the hills

BY JENNIFER WELLS

**D**avid Walsh is up to his nostrils in gold. The real stuff. He does not know exactly how much he has. But he does know that his Bre-X Minerals Ltd., the junior mining stock du jour, has jumped from \$1.90 to as high as \$17.75, that his geologists say Bre-X has struck an Indonesian gold field containing 20 million ounces "plus-plus-plus," and that the firm running through the company's annual meeting in Toronto, Royal York Hotel last week earned that number as high as 100 million shares. If that is true, David Walsh, another institutional trader turned stock promoter, may just have led, from his Calgary basement no less, the discovery of one of the richest gold ore bodies ever.

In early March, Walsh moved into corporate digs in downtown Calgary Bre-X shares, he says, will soon be listed on the U.S. over-the-counter market and then the Toronto Stock Exchange, having lived their life so far on the Alberta Stock Exchange. Interestingly, Walsh has remained true to the requisite politeness of the chief executive officer, in a playful speaker, serene faced by questions from the audience, and can hardly wait for the meeting to end so he can light a cigarette. As a shareholder approaches, Walsh asks the obvious question in such circumstances: "What did you get in it?" "Thirty," is

the reply. "Not bad," says Walsh. "It's 168 now."

Bill Thomson bought in at \$93. "I sold a hundred of 'em. I still own 550," he says. "Generally, I'm paid in for the quick buck. I can't afford to lose." "Why?" "Because I'm #1. I buy and sell what, sometimes I can't remember what I've got."

Thomson has been investing in mining stocks since 1946. He remembers when the price of gold was raised to \$35 an ounce from \$20, when Toronto was a haven for penny mine promoters, and the explanation: multitudes came from mining camps near Timmins or Rosgo-Naranda. These days, Canadian mining companies

particularly the aggressive juniors, have moved abroad to other topographically tough locales. They may find nothing at all. On the other hand, some of the most exciting mineral discoveries in history, from the Merida gold find in Northern Ontario 15 years ago to what seemed the wildly unlikely colony of diamonds in the Northwest Territories, have

been discovered by these same small players. Steve Milosavljevic, senior vice-president at BNP Capital Management Corp. in Toronto, puts it this way: "The big mining companies can't find their way to the bullfrogs." The nation jump in later, as Polarisbridge Ltd. has done with its \$4-billion bid for the Wemyss Bay nickel deal in Labrador. David Walsh, too, will strike a deal, though he talks about selling just 25 per cent of the gold find known as Bousong

Canadian junior mining companies are now raising more financing for exploration than those in any other country. "We're best and absolutely above the first capital market," says Milosavljevic. "We're way ahead of the Australians. London is nowhere. The United States? Not there."

The Bre-X camp is in Kalimantan, the Indonesian side of the island of Borneo. The day before last week's annual meeting, the Bre-X group paid 4,700 other attendees at the annual proceedings and developers convening at the Royal York, where it showed off its ore samples in the convention's Cave Shack. As the band swayed up for Rockin' Lake Night—the shindig high-

Korea and Kazakhstan, where, he says, "we think we have at least 10 billion ounces of gold and one of the world's largest gold deposits." The irrepressible President has sworn it seems, under oath, that he will take public this summer. "We hold a mineral project in northeast Kalimantan within which Switzerland could comfortably fit," he says. "Its potential could come to be exaggerated. If somebody's excited by blue sky, this is the sort of thing that would interest people."

Junior mining companies have always held promises of untold riches. And playing their stocks has always been a investor's game. Today's action, says Frank Guzman, has been abetted by the demise of old political regimes, and propelled by mining and money talents honed in this country for 10 years. "We're the world leaders both from a technical point of view and from a capital markets point of view," says Guzman, chairman of Vantage Sec-

## Digging for dollars

In the past three years, Canadian junior mining companies have raised up to \$5 billion for overseas exploration. Some of the companies, and the minerals, they are seeking.

	Minerals	Main exploration site
Bre-X Minerals	gold	Indonesia
Annapolis Resources	gold, copper	Peru
Asia Pacific Resources	uranium	Ukraine
Clonac Resources Corp.	uranium	Colombia
Central Asia Goldfields Corp.	gold	Central Asia

urities Inc. Guzman says that in the past 2 1/2 years Vantage has mined \$1.2 billion in equity for junior resource companies exploring outside North America. The ease with which Canadian companies can raise financing dovetails nicely with the growing need for foreign investment dollars in emerging regions. Mining is not just a source of jobs and income, and has risen as low as 30 per cent have directed the Canadian players to their targets. "Mining represents the richest and most readily available means to generate a tax base and foreign exchange reserves," says Guzman. "The resources are there, and the capital and expertise needed to exploit that resource is easily portable."

But there have been problems. Venezuela opened up to Canadian juniors early, then beat a protectionist retreat. "Without a reservation," says Guzman, "investments stopped in that country and started going elsewhere in the world." There will always, he maintains, be "loser" countries. "Certainly there is a risk that you're going to have blowups," he says.

After Ivan Gutsan sits down President, chairman of Gold Star Resources. In the 1970s and 1980s, when Perrell played for the Edmonton Eskimos, he was known as Dr. Death. But Perrell long ago got out of football and into mining, most recently the hard ore deposits in French Guiana. He has a slower speaking style than Freeland, but Perrell is equally hyperbolic. He talks of kushite papers, which could mean a potential discovery of oil, or nothing at all. "You're talking about a gold," he says of his own, "that is larger than anything that that anyone has ever found anywhere." He has maybe 25 other exploration projects on the go. He's looking for gold in Suriname. He offers a ride on his plane.

Perrell and Guzman head back to the big-talking convention crowd. The Bre-X news tale from the tip of the beer dandelion. Perhaps they have been talking to Milosavljevic, who manages a mining office. The gold mine, he says, "is going to be the best. We're a brown mine. A brown mine can't be sold. It's usually, to Guzman think so. So often the mining takes are not real. Sometimes they are." □



Walsh, if the latest rumors are true, the Calgary stock promoter may have led the discovery of one of the richest gold ore bodies ever.

light of what is, in essence, a three-day drink 'em up—hoops one floor below promoted, many opportunities from Monopoly to South America. Geological slush maps of Albania were there for the taking. "For many years, exploration was basically Canada, the United States, Australia and the country of choice," says John Herwald, president of Central Asia Goldfields Corp. "The country of choice was where the latest discovery was found."

Central Asia is exploring for gold in Kazakhstan, formerly part of the Soviet Union. "The stars," as everyone in the mining game calls them, are some of the hottest territories for geologists. Later this year, Canesco Corp., the Saskatchewan-based uranium producer, will start mining gold from an open pit at a 14,000-foot level in Kirghistan. Robert Proffitt, who backed Wemyss Bay, has spread his power among interests from Java to Vietnam to South

# Searching for answers to a deadly mystery

## The Westray inquiry subpoenas Clifford Frame



The Carrington farmhouse Frame (below): the former mine owner is selling his family estate

The 100-year-old farmhouse with the cedar shake roof is set back from the road on 250 acres in the Ontario countryside, an hour north of Toronto. The house itself is pretty, not grand. What appears most in the air of luxury—the barn with its oak-walled horse stalls, the riding ring outside, the black Aberdeen Angus cattle that roam the grounds. In the manorway to the office are the prizes for those boats, champion bulls and prize breeders, the pride and joy of Clifford Frame. Frame owned the farm, Carrington, after his resource company, Carrington Resources Inc. While Frame still lives there, Carringtondale is for sale, the last visible remnant of what Carrington built before its Petro-Canada mine blew up in May 1992, taking the lives of 26 miners.

Now the Nova Scotia inquiry looking into the Westray disaster would like to hear from Frame about what happened. On Feb. 28, the province issued a subpoena in his name. As of last Friday, it had not been served. Subpoenas were also issued for Colin Bennett, president of Westray Coal Inc. at the time of the explosion, and now president of Black Hawk Mining Inc. of Toronto, Marvin Teller, former president of corporate development at Carrington, and Trevor Engles, a Carrington engineer in training in 1992.

"We would like to know how the company became involved with the project," says

John Merrick, chief counsel for the inquiry. "We would like to know management's position as to how the project was developed—I'm talking here about the way it was planned, and how the development itself proceeded. We would like their views on some of the state-issued orders that have been made as to the safety that was being displayed." Frame himself was unavailable for comment last week.

The commission has already heard some of the political underflow of Westray, the mine's rush to production, the hasty engineering approvals made to try to pull over coal, fast out of the country's famous Peard coal seams. The mine could not reach its production targets,

the project had no set cash flow. Its parent company, Carrington, was trying to sell it.

The Nova Scotia subpoena is not enforceable in Ontario. "What we want to hear from [Frame] is whether he is going to voluntarily respond," says Merrick. Merrick had hoped to see Nova Scotia pass legislation that would have allowed for the re-

forcement of the subpoena in Ontario. "That may still happen within a time frame that may be of assistance to us," he says. If it does not, and if Frame fails to respond, says Merrick, "we will try to get a court order to enforce the subpoena in Ontario." In that event, evidence for the inquiry would be taken in Ontario.

After the Westray explosion, Frame continued to run Carrington for two years. As the company headed for collapse, he lived in European hotels, trying to line up financing for the parent company. The most bizarre turn of events came in 1993, when Frame indicated that he had found a corporate savior in the person of Mrs. Sonia Metias who billed herself as an international banking consultant. The story was that Metias, whom Carrington associates had never laid eyes on, was supposed to have lined up roughly \$200 million from an Arab sheik. Neither Metias, nor the money, materialized. Carrington went bankrupt in September 1993.

Most recently, Frame has been advising Mulligan North Shore Exploration Ltd., which is trying to revive the mothballed iron ore mines near Schefferville, Que. Frame sits on the company's board. Preston Scott, president of La Poste Placements, which bought the rights from Conrad Black's

Norcon Inc. in 1994, says that Frame "was going to find some financing for us, which he has not yet done. So we're talking to some other people now." Scott says he has not heard from Frame in months, but that he is still involved and has put the company in contact with some "first-class engineering talent. We live from a lot in the technical side."

When the inquiry resumes in St. John's, N.S., this week, John Merrick will be taking testimony from Frame's own engineers. As the hearings are now scheduled, Nova Scotia's mine, health and safety inspectors will appear as witnesses in late April. In May, the politicians will have their say. Among those expected in testimony are former Nova Scotia premier John Buchanan, Elmer MacKay, the former Conservative MP for Central Nova, the federal minister who oversees Westray, and Donald Cameron, who as the province's minister of industry, trade and technology, notified Carrington in 1988 that it had been granted a mining lease. Merrick aims to conclude his examination of witnesses by June. He says he will make room in the schedule "any day" for Cliff Frame.



JENNIFER WILES



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Magistrate planting  
near Toronto, opening shot

mentations aren't. He cited "broadcasting, copyrights, drug-to-trade, satellite, regulations, not book distribution."

That is a familiar field to Kantor. As a Los Angeles lawyer from 1975 to 1980, he was a lobbyist for the U.S. National Cable Television Association. His firm represented other clients in the uncertain recent industry and in his role as a prominent figure for years in Democratic election campaigns, including Clinton's. Kantor has been coauthor of the industry's contributions to the Democratic Party.

The Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics, in a study based on reports to the U.S. Federal Election Commission, includes major contributions to the Democrats from entertainment and communications companies in 1985. Among them: \$124,000 from Time Warner; \$126,000 from Walt Disney Co.; \$276,000 from MCI Telecommunications Corp.; \$275,000 from MCA Inc.; \$257,000 from Miramax Films Corp.; and \$100,000 from Viacom International. During 1985, his first year running Clinton's trade policy, Kantor sought a protected but ultimately losing battle with France against its policy frustrating the screening of American programs on French television.

Now, at last, the Americans are expecting problems in their election campaign. It is not clear how much Kantor has become an issue now that presidential candidate Pat Buchanan has spent two months railing against free trade, and a distress over at America's job. And Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole, who is Clinton's Republican opponent designate, rages at the administration for being soft on America's trading partners. Even Kantor's new report to the World Trade Organization in the *Spartan Illustrated* case, issued on U.S. law, was said

privately to be intended to demonstrate U.S. trust in the American trade law under attack from political opponents. Kantor himself has often walked and talked the organization and its treaty

in his dual role as U.S. trade representative and a Clinton campaign power. Kantor is clearly mindful of the need to counter Republican criticism at election time, and he has been in the past with similar risk was his toward for action as Clinton's 1990 campaign chairman. Clinton has not yet named his 1990 campaign chair. Kantor often takes even workshops or major stories in his American trade campaign into media events to play the Clinton government. His news release about the *Spartan Illustrated* case focused in advance to selected newspapers' press. Kantor's numerous challenge of international Canadian magazine posters, often Clinton administration demonstrators to defend U.S. industries.

Meanwhile, Kantor, the state department and the White House have been hit by a flurry of Canadian protests, diplomatic notes and lobbying. Repetitive Kantor's note on the Cuba case last week, a day after Clinton signed into law the so-called Liberal Act, which threat can force investors in Cuba with U.S. laws and issues trade with the nation. Calling for consultations, Eggleston said that Canada "expects that the United States will provide sufficient information regarding the implementation and application of this act to enable a full examination of its potential impact." That is something that Kantor and his officials may not be eager to do—at least until the upcoming election. In addition, Washington has threatened retaliation if Ottawa tries to block American-owned book superstores.

#### STEEL

American trade officials have repeatedly accused Canadian companies of selling steel below cost. The result has been an increase in U.S. steel exports to Canada, and a decline in Canadian exports.

#### DAIRY, CHICKEN AND EGGS

The United States is now pressing Ottawa to strike down Canadian tariffs on imports of dairy products, poultry and eggs.

On the trade front, issues confronting Eggleston and Kantor include an American pressure on Canada over steel exports with U.S. producers complaining about the volume and pricing of Canadian shipments, an American challenge to Canadian tariffs on imports of American egg, poultry

and dairy products, and the mounting of the most recent settlement of a perennial dispute over lumber. Under that deal, Canada's shippers must curb exports to meet U.S. standards. During the deal, Gary Hunter, Clinton's trade negotiator, said that he had a 30-minute deadline on a settlement. Clinton went to Kantor's office, apparently turned him down, and the second was completed about four hours later that day. Canadian diplomats and trade officials decide to offer criticism of Kantor's handling was merely. But earlier in the latter talks, the Canadian federal provincial delegation were offered by a diagnosis of U.S. trade policy that found it suffering from "decisions."

That diagnosis, read aloud at the Canadian meeting, was an attack by Washington-based business analyst Ronald Dale in the *Pittsburgh Courier* and *International Herald Tribune*. The columnist wrote that the U.S. trade policy is suffering from a bad case of Katerman's—a debilitating disease whose symptoms include aggression, narrow-mindedness and a tendency to see the world for the "poor." Under Kantor, he added, Washington's policy "has been progressively reduced to a blunt assertion of the special interests of American business." Other critics are almost as blunt. During trade talks in 1985, Leon Brittan, Europe's chief trade negotiator, accused Kantor of "unilateral bullying." And Washington itself, according to some reports, has argued that, by attacking allies, "U.S. trade policy is damaging U.S. foreign policy interests and achieving little in the way of economic benefits in return." In a critique published by the American Enterprise Institute titled "Trade and Security: the George Washington University professor states that trade has been replaced from foreign policy at the cost of endangering national and global security by "a ruthless competition for economic wealth," says Nae, the policy "perpetuates and escalating tensions with America's friends, and undermines collective efforts to deal with America's existing and potential enemies." Right now, suffering from a scourge of Katerman, many Canadians—and people around the world—could say amen to that. □

## BUSINESS

# America's trade hitman

BY CARL MOLINS

After Trade Minister Art Eggleston met his U.S. counterpart, Mickey Kantor, in Washington early this morning—as a dinner guest and in a two-hour talk the next day—he chose to discuss cross-border commerce in comparative terms. "From everything I hear about trade relations the United States has with other countries, that one is an odd ground," he said, referring to U.S.-Canada trade. "It is a lot more amiable situation." In that case, other countries must be suffering under the pugnacious trade policies pursued by Kantor, Congress and, lately, President Bill Clinton. As Eggleston spoke to reporters on March 4, the American government worked on border spanning agreements that unlike at an array of Canadian businessmen, from publishing to poultry, steel and lumber, entertainment and, most aggressively of all, Canada-Cuba commerce.

At the Canadian Embassy in Washington, where Ambassador Raymond Charbonneau deals with the outspokenly Kantor in a fire-nice breeze, officials react to diplomatic trade news. They point out that the current burst of problems—apart from the punitive U.S. intervention in Canada-Cuba relations—is simply a convergence of the inevitable bilateral disputes bound to afflict the world's richest two-way trade. The money at stake amounts to a relatively puny portion of the billion-dollar-a-year transborder business. And the current U.S. actions are largely driven by elec-

tion politics. As such, Canadian authorities expect some of the humber elements to dissipate after, or even before, the Nov. 5 presidential vote. So far says one official, "there's an awful lot of smoke, but very little fire."

At the same time, Canadian authorities are pressing the Americans in an effort to blow away the smoke and prevent fires. But it is hard to keep up with the towering fire complaints from Kantor's office. Last week, before Eggleston had completed a strenuous day calling for coal treaties on the Cuba trade issue, Kantor had already challenged as "an unfair trade barrier" a Canadian tax law to protect Canada's magazines from so-called splinter-run American periodicals. Ottawa says they amount to dumped products unfairly competing with Canadian publications. Kantor referred the case, which directly involves *Time* magazine, to the General-based World Trade Organization. But he made clear that his action is the opening salvo in a campaign against "Canadian practices in the cultural com-

merce sector." He cited "broadcasting, copyrights, drug-to-trade, satellite, regulations, not book distribution."

## Mickey Kantor's get-tough policy targets Canada



Kantor, election-year pushing

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Deirdre McCurdy

## The Bottom Line New bulls on the block

**B**used deep in a back corner of the daily financial pages is a small box that monitors the heartbeat of Bay Street. This is the "block list"—a record of which brokerage firms trade how many shares of stock on the previous day. For equity traders, it's the official scorecard—and the first thing they flip to every morning. Nothing provides a more accurate or current snapshot of the leading contenders in the big leagues.

In the May 16th block market of the mid-1990s, Merrill Lynch Canada and Gordon Capital locked horns on the block list every day. That was the epic era of bubble trading, when securities firms with deep pockets made millions by trading shares for their own accounts as well as for their clients.

Every day, the street checked to see who was winning the latest round in this bloody, high-stakes game of hedge-war, rough-hair. The issue stopped shortly after the market crash of October, 1987. Merrill Lynch abandoned the Canadian market, leaving a void in the market. And the Type A team at Gordon Capital gradually unravelled and reported interoffice skirmishes.

Now there's a new game in town. And there are new kids on the block list. Among others, the names include Robert Dorman of NewCrest Capital Inc. and Bradley Carr of Goforth McKernan & Partners. And when they started up their respective shops last year, they've been using every stock's lunch. It's right there in black and white every morning.

What's especially noteworthy about the burgeoning trade activities of NewCrest and Goforth McKernan is how efficiently they've grabbed the big institutional accounts right under the noses of the established, independent brokerage firms. By the final quarter of 1995—just months after the specialists got going—they had grabbed an impressive share of the market. In the top dozen Bay Street dealers, NewCrest ranked seventh with a turnover per cent of the action. Goforth McKernan

staked out 12th place and three per cent of the market.

That means only one thing: The traditional independents have dragged the ball they have allowed the new guys to possess a significant chunk from their lucrative niches. According to the block list, the score for the last three months of 1995, the successes achieved by Dorman and Goforth have left Richardson Greenbergs with just 4.6 per cent of the market and Midland Walwyn Capital Inc. with a modest 3.5 per cent. That's not terribly much to show for all the years they've been at it.

The big independent firms are now being squeezed on two sides. By the rich capital and back-owned firms and by the narrowly focused newcomers. And their market share is being squeezed on the third side: by the new entrants who are making life difficult for the traditional independents on Bay Street.

But the new entrants are not alone in making life difficult for the traditional independents on Bay Street. The back-owned brokerage firms are further squeezing them. These are the fat cats who lap up most of the cream in the bowl, dominating the market with their corporate clients. The back-owned brokerage firms are further squeezing them. These are the fat cats who lap up most of the cream in the bowl, dominating the market with their corporate clients.

Despite some recent setbacks by the independent brokerage firms, the market is still a place of opportunity. For those who are willing to take the risk, the market is still a place of opportunity. For those who are willing to take the risk, the market is still a place of opportunity.

So, for those in the crowd with a taste for blood sports, pay attention to the block list. The market is a new place for those who aren't at the peak of their game. And the market may be about to change forever.

## Business NOTES

### ZELLERS PULLS UP STAKES

Zellers Inc. announced that it is moving its headquarters from Markham to Toronto. The retail chain's parent firm, Hudson's Bay Co., hopes to save \$20 million a year by merging Zellers' head office operations with those of The Bay. Most of the 500 workers affected by the move will be offered jobs elsewhere in the company.

### LOWER DRUG PRICES

Patented drugs are substantially less expensive in Canada than in the United States, a new federal study said. A major reason for the difference is that about 38 per cent of drugs in Canada are purchased by provincial drug plans, and Dr. Robert Ryn, chairman of the Patented Medicine Prices Review Board. The study found that prices are lower in Canada than in the United States on 90 per cent of the 500 top-selling products.

### TOBACCO SETTLEMENT

Luggitt Group, the cigarette manufacturing division of Marlboro-Brooks Group Ltd., agreed to settle a huge lawsuit brought on behalf of smokers claiming to be addicted to cigarettes. The settlement, which ended the tobacco industry, was the first time any U.S. cigarette company has offered money to settle a smoking-related suit. The settlement will cost Luggitt about \$2 million a year for 25 years, far less than the company was spending in legal fees to defend itself.

### MANAGERS DEPART BANK

Five top managers are leaving Alberta's government-owned bank and controversy over the institution's lending practices. Opposition politicians were particularly critical of the Alberta Treasury's 1994 decision to lend \$6.5 million to Calgary entrepreneur Larry Byckman. Byckman was recently charged with an 18-year trading ban on the Alberta Stock Exchange for misleading stock prices.

### HIGH-SPEED-RAIL DEAL

Amtrak, the federally subsidized U.S. passenger rail service, chose Montreal-based Bombardier Inc. to help build new high-speed trains for the northeastern U.S. corridor. The 240-mile line is expected to go into service by 2000. Bombardier is a subsidiary of SNC-Lavalin of France. The two firms are also planning to build a high-speed rail line in Florida, subject to financing.



Last-of-its-kind workers in Flint, Mich., trying to save GM jobs

## A costly GM showdown

**A** strike at two General Motors Corp. plants in Detroit, Mich., triggered widespread layoffs throughout the North American auto industry. About 3,000 workers in Detroit walked off the job earlier this month in a long-running dispute over the use of outside contractors to perform work traditionally done by union members. The shortage of brake parts quickly forced GM, the world's largest automaker, to

begin trying for years to shift more of its parts-making operations to outside suppliers, but has been resisted by United Automobile Workers' opposition. Steve Hargrove, president of the Canadian Auto Workers union, said that his organization also plans to make contributions to a major strike in conjunction with GM (that are scheduled to begin this summer). "We want to keep the work outside our plants," said Hargrove.



Vancover construction site: what may be easy

### Getting started

A new survey of 500 loan companies says that the likelihood of getting a loan is higher than in 1995. The survey found that the likelihood of getting a loan is higher than in 1995. The survey found that the likelihood of getting a loan is higher than in 1995.

Category	Average rate	Change from 1995
1. 1-year prime rate	\$22.10%	+0.8%
2. 3-month prime rate	\$20.00%	+2.6
3. 6-month prime rate	\$21.40%	+0.3
4. 9-month prime rate	\$24.30%	-1.7
5. 12-month prime rate	\$26.40%	+6.7
6. 18-month prime rate	\$40.40%	+1.1

### Mortgage rates jump

Canada's banks raised mortgage rates by as much as three-quarters of a percentage point, put in the housing market's worst period for recovery. The increases pushed the typical rate on a five-year mortgage to 8.5 per cent from 7.4 per cent. Economists said the higher rates will likely dampen the housing market. Still, rates may be on the way. Statistics Canada reported that the annual inflation rate was 1.3 per cent in February—the lowest since 1994. In January, the annual inflation rate was 1.6 per cent. In January, the annual inflation rate was 1.6 per cent. In January, the annual inflation rate was 1.6 per cent.

# Peter C. Newman



## Will a desperate Jean Chrétien roll the dice?

**T**he nation's only growth industry took another beating last week when the Business Council on National Issues had a shot at trying to square the circle of drafting a new constitution for Canadian unity and producing no visible results.

As the weeks and months drop away, it seems increasingly obvious that *jeu d'union's* upside and downside well-meaning but psychically spent graduates of the Misch Lake and Charlottetown accord wars are not going to save the country. Ironically, it may fall to the politician farthest from today's Man to stage one last, grand gamble that might just turn the tide. The scenario for this daring proposition, being actively debated by the Prime Minister's advisers, runs something like this:

The federal Liberals are due to renew their mandate in the fall of 1997, and Jean Chrétien has affirmed his inner circle that he intends to seek a renewed mandate so that he will be the prime minister who leads Canada into the 21st century. (We entered opening the 50th century, so guaranteed, so happily the next one will belong to Canada—even if at the moment we're behaving as if we belonged to the 19th.)

But a small group of determined Liberals are advising Chrétien to take the most daring gamble of his political life and drop the writ this fall. Chrétien alluded to such a possibility in the House of Commons on Feb. 26, when he stated that "there are many ways to consult the public. There is one that will ensure that we have a general election." Nobody took him seriously at the time, but it was a deadly serious tool he chose.

With a cardboard legislative calendar that often little of a calendar or even vaguely attractive reflection platform—not still unable to afford the kind of policies that are given maximum re-election—the Liberals have no margin for error. They're tempted to revive the old slogan of "King or Chaos" that William Lyon Mackenzie King used in 1935 to best Tony Leader R.B. Bennett, on the theory that Canadians have no alternative but to vote Liberal to the only national party in town.

Chances are that we may get "Chrétien or Chaos."

The problem is that Pierre Trudeau made it just about impossible for any of his successors to reform the Constitution that he passed in 1982. By setting such a rigid standard for major constitutional changes as unanimous legislative approval of the 10 provinces, Trudeau made certain that this would be Mission Impossible, as indeed it proved to be during the Mulroney era. But Trudeau left behind one other legacy that could scuttle the hopes of his political disciples from Showings of behind the guy who lights the celebratory bonfires at the end of the century.

The 1982 document contains a clause that requires a First Ministers conference to be held within 15 years after the original document was signed to review the Constitution's amending proce-

dures. That conference has to be called by 13 months from now, by the spring of 1997.

Any attempt to accelerate a new Constitution is almost certainly bound to crash, since Quebec's Lucien Bouchard remains determined that he will not negotiate anything except independence, while Western Canada's constitutional position grows ever more harder. Failure of any constitutional talks will determine the country's future by launching Bouchard's next and (he believed) final Quebec referendum.

The ultimate Liberal nightmare (apart from having Ricki Copps become the next leader) is that Chrétien could emerge from the mandated 1997 constitutional conference as a lame duck. The best chance he has of making a decent showing in a pre-emptive strike with an early election, which would allow him to meet the pressure strengthened by his renewed mandate.

If Chrétien decides to call such an election, it will be fought more like a referendum, with the Prime Minister demanding a mandate for a series of tough proposals to the first ministers in April, 1997. These measures would constitutionalize the distinct society clause already passed by Parliament, as well as legitimizing his system of regional senators. That would be controversial enough, but Chrétien would also ask for a further mandate, spelling out the specifics of secession for defecting provinces. Such terms would require approval by 90 per cent of its voters supporting a fairly worded referendum question on the issue, non-separation assumption of a share of the national debt equivalent to the proportion of the departing province's population—and no offer at any continuing relationship with Mother Canada, except as one foreign country to another.

Getting approval for these initiatives would be a long shot at best. Since there is no chance of appealing to those diehards advocating Quebec's unilateral independence, this would obviously have to be done without the blessing of the premier's separatist government. Through the Ottawa leaders promoting the early election option are well aware that Bouchard and his true believers will not retreat from their demands of independence, they hope that Chrétien's position might appeal to the province's self-satisfied elite who they believe may represent as much as a third of the voting population.

Bouchard cleared up any doubts about his posture last week when he told the *Montreal Star* he would remain in Montreal. "Some would suggest that the solution is to simply forget about sovereignty. In Quebec, that would be tantamount to saying, 'Forget about aging.'" Even though much of Canada's elite are anxious to sit months of winter and six months of poor riding, spring will come—and so will Lucien Bouchard's referendum. Jean Chrétien has to decide very soon whether to tempt fate and roll the dice.

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BY D'ARCY JENISH

On November 1971, a drunken Draper Archie Johnson and three equally intoxicated accomplices abducted a 15-year-old native girl named Melvin Betty Osborne in The Pits, Man., drove her to a remote location outside town, and tried to sexually assault her. When she resisted, an enraged Johnson, then 16, pulled Osborne out of the car, brutally beat her and stabbed her in the chest 56 times with a screwdriver. Then he and one of the other men dragged the battered, nearly naked teenager in a wooded area and left her to die. It took police 15 years to crack the case. But in December 1987, Johnson was convicted of second-degree murder and was sentenced to life in prison. Now, after nearly a decade in custody, Johnson is a changed man—at least according to the National Parole Board. "It is fairly clear from the material we have that he doesn't represent a risk to society," says Frances Simonsen, director of the board's Pacific regional office in Abbotsford, B.C.

With the board's blessing, the 43-year-old Johnson is preparing for life outside prison. Now on day parole, the arm whose case became the subject of a book and a CBC movie entitled *Conspiracy of Silence* lives in Abbotsford at a federal corrections centre that has no bars or fences. His own car, which he lives as a furniture upholsterer and, if granted full parole next October, will be free to live on his own. But for the last five months, members of Osborne's family in Norway blame—60 km north of Winnipeg—along with natives across Manitoba have staged protest marches, signed petitions and pleaded with the parole board to keep Johnson locked up. "Somebody else could be harmed," warns Osborne's 41-year-old brother Keith, "because of the racist attitude that this person held

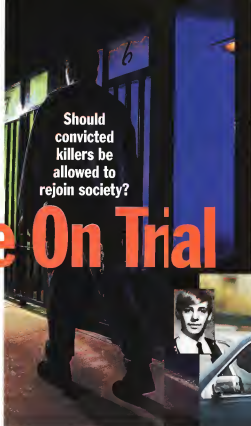
Should convicted killers be allowed to rejoin society?

# Parole On Trial

towards Indian people." Concludes Norway House band leader Brian Eneke: "I don't think Johnson should be out. No one here believes he's a model anything."

Ironies like Johnson's may be surprising when a state of protest descends upon them. But, in fact, the entire parole system is under attack from people who tell pollsters they believe violent crimes on the street—even though government figures show precisely the opposite for murder and violent personal injury offenders. Many Canadians are demanding longer sentences and a tougher parole system, and politicians are listening. Last week, Liberal backbencher John Narasimha reintroduced a private member's bill that would drop convicted third-degree murderers like Clifford Olson—the notorious serial killer who is eligible for a judicial review in August—any chance of being released before serving 25 years. And Justice Minister Allan Rock has promised to unveil a package of amendments within a month that will exclude some killers from applying for such reviews. "At the moment, anyone can apply," Rock told Maclean's. "I've met with enough victims who have gone through a review and experienced a second time the trauma of a family member's death. They argue powerfully that someone shouldn't be sentenced" (page 49).

Along with hardening public attitudes, the 47-member National Parole Board has been deeply affected by a series of disastrous decisions in the late 1980s. In the summer of 1987, convicted murderer David Gwynne, then 37, escaped while on a temporary absence from Edmonton Institution and killed two people before being re-



reined. Then in January 1988, a violent sex offender named Melvin Simon, 31, was granted a similar leave from an Ontario penitentiary and, within hours of getting out, raped and murdered a young woman in downtown Toronto. Finally, there was prisoner Joseph Fredericks, a sadistic pedophile who abducted, raped and fatally stabbed 11-year-old Christopher Stephenson of Winnipeg, Ont., in June 1986.

These tragedies led to concerns' impacts on internal inquiries, massive amounts of hostile media coverage and wholesale changes in the policies and processes of the parole board, which has an annual operating budget of nearly \$24 million. Although they are appointed by cabinet, board members, who can earn up to \$90,000 a year, must have a background in criminal justice or corrections, rather than simply the right party connections. "The board had been misled by bad cases," comments Willie Gibbs, who was named chairman 18 months ago after a long career in corrections. "We needed to make changes so we could build some credibility with the Canadian public."

But according to advocates for inmates, the board has already gone too far in that direction. It has attempted to inhibit its image, they say, by making parole too difficult for most offenders—and next to impossible for others, particularly those who have committed sexual offenses. In fact, the board's own figures show that the number of day parole and full parole cases reviewed annually fell by nearly 30 per

cent between 1990 and 1995. During that time, the rate of day paroles actually granted fell to 56 per cent from 65 per cent, while the rate for full parole plummeted to 19 per cent from 34 per cent. "There's an argument to be made that the parole board has abolished parole," says Graham Stewart, executive director of the John Howard Society of Ontario, which counsels offenders. "It's become a lockstep system."

A federal penitentiary says, Frontenac Institution in Kingston, Ont., is a pretty nice place. It is maximum security, so there are no inmates mugged with razor wire and not many bars. Despite the relaxed atmosphere, Frontenac houses some serious offenders, including murderers. And on a recent winter morning, a three-month parole board panel assembled there for day parole hearings involving these inmates in their early to mid-thirties, all serving life sentences for sex and/or murder.

The first up is Scott, a broad, 35-year-old man with big hands and shoulder-length hair. Scott, who has served 7½ years in jail for stabbing an acquaintance to death in a drunken rage after a long fight over a woman, agrees with his parole. His next, a minister and the director of a halfway house that is prepared to accept him. Scott has a job lined up, he is attending university and he is remarried.

The next case is more perplexing. Geoff, a slender and well-spoken, 35-year-old man, has served 11 years for stabbing his wife to death after the breakdown of their marriage. His inmate accomplice has died, from the stab wound on her back. It is apparent that her movements at the time are riding on the witness. Geoff is in the board he had no criminal history before the murder, and he has stayed out of trouble in prison, except for two minor breaches. But the board seems skeptical about Geoff's explanation of the killing, and his apparent lack of remorse.

"I'm having trouble understanding why the offence happened," says panel member Linda Leason. "You seem to matter-of-factly about it."

"This is something I'll never go on to forget," Geoff replies. "I feel bad it happened. But I can't change that."

The interview over, Geoff and his



Osborne: the parole board says that her killer is a changed man



Johnson in high school (left), leaving work last week (right)



inside with nearly 90 minutes in a visitors' lounge before the board calls them back—and turns them down. After months out in the corridor, Gault leaves dejectedly against the wall while his fiancée sits on his shoulder.

By midafternoon, the board is ready to hear Akin, who at age 34 has spent 13 years behind bars for killing a 73-year-old man, allegedly because the victim made a sexual pass after an evening of heavy drinking. Akin, who is blunt about his past, tells the board that he was one of 22 children in a home with alcoholism, neglect and abuse. He piled up numerous offences as a juvenile, and his prison record includes breaches for carrying knives, harassing sex offenders and threatening a guard. "I just want to get my life back," he tells the board, "but a job and start over." But the panel tells him he has criminal and emotional problems that must be resolved before he will be ready for release.

Most parole board members insist that their decisions are guided by federal legislation, board policy and voluminous inmate files that usually include summaries of offences, the judge's reasons for sentencing, psychiatric assessments, reports from the case management officers and, on occasion, victim impact statements. But other board members concede that they rely on an intuition during the hearing as well. "I've always listening for accents and little things that may add up to big things," said Ross Drummond, 43, a Kingston lawyer and board member for nine years. "If you pursue them, you can usually get an admission that men can change."

Some decisions are essentially wrangling, says Drummond, particularly those involving Eves. "Our job is to protect the public and sometimes that means a person may never get out. I don't think the average Canadian ever believes there is such a thing as a life sentence in this country. But even if it were the case completely, the door is shut. Sometimes you see a guy who's going to have a hard time convincing any board to release him. And that's sad."

**D**avid Clouton has been a correctional officer for 30 years (today at Galt House Institution in Regina, a tough place known as the gladiator school). Sucky and bad-tempered, Clouton has a demeanor that annoys in "You're seen it all" and he knows prison to bones. "If you want to make a beastly, you take a hard core creaking, you put a base on it and you pack it with all kinds of volatile material," he says. "In our prisons you have a hard core creaking, which is the fence, and you put all kinds of volatile people inside and they're all bouncing off each other trying to get along. It's a daily war and violence. When inmates come out, they need to shed the survival skills they learned inside. This place gives people that opportunity."

"This place" is the Nova Community Correctional Centre, where



## A handful of disastrous decisions have altered perceptions of parole



Serial killer Olinac: the murder rate is doubling—but the four remain

Clouton now works, located in a former post office at the west end of Toronto, in a temporary residence for inmates who are trying to rebuild their lives outside prison. But many don't make it, and Clouton keeps a brown leather briefcase in his office to demonstrate one major reason why. The briefcase is full of contraband he has seized at the centre. It includes about two dozen syringes, one containing drugs, one broken, several dentures left in toilet flush containers, a small bag of marijuana, pornography, pills, an empty whiskey bottle and a knife with an eight-inch blade.

Getting caught with items like these is considered a breach of parole and generally leads the offender back in jail. So, obviously, on committing new offences that lead to criminal charges. Recently while Clouton led a visitor on a tour of the Kewee centre, two police officers were thinking a resident before taking him away in handcuffs. The middle-aged man was suspected of being involved in a fraud scheme with another inmate at the centre. "It's never a pleasant thing to see a man arrested," Clouton says after the officers have whisked the man away. "But if you work in this field, you see it time and time again."

Of course, any inmate charged with a new crime and acquitted is entitled to a new parole hearing, and another chance is placed for his freedom. In fact, cases like these account for about 25 per cent of the board's workload. Another 30 per cent are denials of parole, mostly because of a dangerous hearing, meaning inmates deemed to be too dangerous to release at the two-thirds mark of their sentences. The remaining 45 per cent are for escorted or unsupervised temporary absences—generally for a doctor's appointment or a death in the family—or for day parole or full parole.

But regardless of the reason for the hearing, they are frequently more successful. "When you interview an inmate at a hearing, 30 per cent are highly charged, highly dynamic, violent," says Jane Hackett, a member of the board based in Kingston. "We're making decisions that have a tremendous effect on the lives of the offender and the potential for harm to the community."

Some inmates may they could hardly sleep that night before their hearings. Others recall sitting on their hands in avoid breathing. And still others describe the experience as more: not-so-packing that standing before a judge who is passing sentence. Occasionally, board members become worried about their own safety. As a recent hearing at Millhaven Institution near Kingston, a short, grumpy, pale-looking inmate named Dave entered the room accompanied by a body guard with a break out and a no-nonsense look on his face. And it quickly became apparent why the guard was there. Dave, a 39-year-old bank robber with 46 convictions, was communicating with anger. He had been paroled on Dec. 16, 1995, from Kingston Penitentiary and he was back in jail the same day.



Walter and Versel: victims of a violent political force

## Taking aim at repeat offenders

Last week, members to the classical community of 140 DOR, Que., decided to get tough. Armed with more than 3,000 applications, they manifested the small town, 560 km northwest of Montreal with gun shots of a convicted pedophile who will soon be eligible for temporary leave from a local prison. Joe Cassano, 57, is serving 18 months for gross indecency, and the justice went that he has been convicted of sexual offences on four times since 1980. Such records are not just commonplace in Canada. But in more and more communities, real deaths are demanding greater protection from repeat offenders—including older sentences and reduced eligibility for parole. Experts who study recidivism—the rate at which former inmates re-offend, however, that longer periods in jail do little to ensure public safety. "There is no evidence that just increasing time reduces crime," says Carleton University psychologist Don Andrews. "The only difference is the expense."

A far better solution, psychologists and criminal experts say, is to first identify offenders as the basis of the continuing risk they represent. Although the basics of assessing risk vary, a recently published study by employees of the solicitor general of Canada followed 3,507 offenders released from federal prisons in 1983 and 1984. About one-third had a 24-per-cent risk of being back in a jail within three years. The middle third had a risk level of 43 per cent, the top third, about 67 per cent. In the past, the process of classification was fraught with guesswork. But recent research in the field, in which Canada is a world leader, has led to vastly improved techniques. Robert Hare has

"So, you're out 144 hours before all hell broke loose," parole board member Richard Palmer says. "What happened?"

"It would take a long time to explain what happened." Dave sips back a craggy note.

But within minutes Dave's story shifts off. He took a loan to Toronto and reported immediately to his parole officer, who promptly imposed a 9 p.m. curfew, although he and the parole board had agreed on midnight. His supervisor also ordered Dave, an admitted alcoholic, to spend his first six to 12 weeks in a substance abuse program, assuming that he would not be at work. Perhaps, Dave walked out, had a good meal, got drunk, bought a lottery ticket and staggered back to his halfway house at 11:30 p.m., where he was promptly arrested.

Despite his dismal performance, Dave pleads for another chance. "I promise you if you give me that much longer, so I can go out and get a job, you won't see me in prison again." But Hackett (she has hopes and such the interview, declaring "Well, we don't really believe that."

**W**hile parole hearings are emotionally draining for families, they can be traumatic for victims and their families. They are allowed to submit impact statements, but they are not permitted to speak. "I just had to sit there shaking my head and listening to his lies," recalls Thelma Leadley, a 25-year-old nurse clerk from Kingston last June, Leadley involved in the Atlantic Institution in Moncton, N.B., to attend a hearing for Robert Thompson, who severely beat her daughter Brenda Fitzgerald—a 23-year-old mother of two—before stabbing her to death on May morning in 1985.

"The hardest part for me was having to face this man again," said Leadley, whose voice still seems laden with grief. "The hearing lasted five hours. I was never once looked at. I just sat every year that he gets turned down."

Other victims' families don't much the wait. Montreal

convinced a widely used scale known as the psychopathy checklist. Using in-depth interviews and other personality testing techniques, the University of British Columbia psychologist explains the list to determine whether an offender is a dangerous psychopath. Such offenders make up about 30 per cent of prison populations and their risk of committing more violent crimes is 80 per cent or more. Typical traits include superficial charm, chronic lying, promiscuity, juvenile delinquency and a lack of remorse. "Using this scale," says Andrews, "we can identify psychopaths who are a real risk to the community." They are designed to assign a risk level and indicate an appropriate behavior.

Prison inmates, others say, at almost sudden as a long-term deterrent for most offenders. Jim Crocchiola, a University of Alberta sociologist, says jail is brutalizing and longer terms will create more "desperate people who are going to get out at some point and try to make a life out of it."

Most parole decisions, Crocchiola notes, are based—more than 80 per cent of parolees do not commit crimes during the parole period. And in the 33-year history of the National Parole Board, less than the convicted felons have murdered again after their release. "We don't let a lot of high-profile cases change the direction of our system," Crocchiola says. That may be sound advice, but statistics are cold comfort knowing that a violent offender may be just around the corner.

PATRICIA CHISHOLM

police officer Walter Pilpan was shot in the face nearly three years ago by one Claude Forget, an inmate who laid waste on a pass to visit family. "This guy," says Pilpan's wife, Vivienne, "is going to stay in jail for the whole 20 years." That kind of unshakable determination has turned victims and the organizations that represent them into a potent political force. "Public pressure is forcing the parole board to be very, very careful," says Françoise de Valère, founder of the Burlington, Ont.-based lobby group COVAT.

Victims' organizations and their supporter lists are also the only credible clout to lobby the federal government for stringent new restrictions on who gets parole. The Ottawa-based Canadian Police Association wants a law requiring that anyone with three parole suspensions would be eligible for any kind of early release in the future. Victims of Violence, another Ottawa-based organization, would permanently disqualify anyone who committed any act of violence while on parole. "The official response has always been that we can't take away hope for these guys," says executive director Gary Rosenblatt. "So you can have as many parole violations as you want, and you still get out on parole." For some offenders, however, parole remains a crucial tool for controlling recidivism and safeguarding public safety. The John Howard Society's Stewart says that 75 per cent of inmates in Canadian penitentiaries are serving short sentences and will ultimately be released. The public, he argues, is better protected when inmates are released only with strict supervision than when they serve three colour sentences and have no conditions. "The process is now extremely politically driven," says Kingston defence lawyer Josh Zimbarov.

## COVER

"The instant 'rights lobby' would be happy if parole were done away with altogether, and the parole board is pandering to that conservative attitude."

Former inmates, particularly those who have served long sentences, say that parole is a wild horse between the reins of crime and a high-speed, bewildering society. "My first day out, I broke out in a cold sweat trying to cross a street," recalls Tom Forest, 51, who remained a life sentence for second-degree murder in the mid 1970s and now runs a inmate counselling service in Kingston. "The



Leaders: I just had to sit there shaking my head and listening to his BS!

that runs two Toronto halfway houses "in employment situations, managers are being held up to very rigid accountability standards. We're seeing more government agencies when we attempt to go home. And we're being people up for longer periods of time. We're into a period of absolute individual responsibility." For inmate like Dwayne Archie Johnston, the most new music made that doing time and expressing remorse may no longer be enough. For victims' families and a fearful public, one parole board mistake is one too many.

With SCOTT STUBLE in Atlanta and RUSSELL JAMNICK in Windsor

## The Big Brother solution

With much overcrowding in prisons and rising costs of incarceration, correctional service officials are increasingly turning to a rather Orwellian alternative—transforming the concrete two-barracks into a virtual cell through electronic monitoring, or EM. The system relies on a small bracelet attached to a parolee's or offender's ankle, and hooked to an in-house monitoring device. If the offender leaves his house, correctional personnel at a monitoring centre are automatically alerted by an automated call made through the bracelet-wearer's phone line.

Newfoundland, Ontario, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the Yukon are now using EM programs in a time of house arrest—most commonly for relatively low-risk criminals, such as those convicted of drunk driving or at property offences. "We are not putting hard-core people out there," says Jim Cairns, a program manager for the correctional department of British Columbia, where almost 20 per cent of people serving provincial sentences wear the bracelets. One benefit of EM programs is that they save money. Eric Gahan, president of a private, a Canadian firm that distributes the Braulder, Colo.-produced technology, says that it costs about \$3 a day to lease an EM system—far cheaper than putting people in prison or halfway houses. In fact, the Ontario Ministry of Correctional Services says it will save between \$5 million and \$10 million per year

by eliminating halfway houses and replacing them with EM equipment. And in British Columbia, where EM has been used since 1987, it has helped reduce overcrowding in the province's jails. "Electronic monitoring," says Cairns, "has been a blessing in allowing us to try and balance overcrowding."

EM technology may also have application in the federal parole system. This month, the Correctional Service of Canada will begin testing EM as a way to help enforce curfew for a select group of parolees in interior British Columbia. The purpose, says project director James Barlett, is to "prevent a means to increase level of supervision." If successful, the B.C. trial might lead to a national program of electronic parole monitoring. "Parole on the federal level is one obvious place where this technology should be used," says John Eshelby, a professor of criminology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C. "With the federal prison system is overcrowded, electronic monitoring provides a means of securing greater release [of parolees] through strict control."

Still, Barlett warns, "all EM does is tell you where a guy is. It doesn't serve any rehabilitative functions." And it cannot stop offenders from breaking the law at home. "It's not a solution. It is not 100 per cent foolproof," says Cairns, "but it is very reliable." Whether the small ankle bracelet is reliable enough to quell the public's fears is another matter.

JONATHAN MARSH

## COVER

For nearly 14 years, Darlene Boyd believed that the man convicted in the brutal murder of her teenage daughter was serving the harshest possible sentence allowed under Canadian law—life imprisonment with no eligibility for parole for 25 years. It was not until a newspaper reporter called her last September that she learned that she had been deceived. Boyd, 44, who served 22 years for weapons and drug offences, adds: "Doing a lot of time is like being placed in suspended animation. When I went in, there were tapes around. When I came out, there's punk rock and video games."

Whatever the merits of the parole system, the challenge is to get it out of the way as it is now, as a sign of a broad, attitudinal change within Canadian society. "We're less forgiving today," says Jeffrey Rouse, executive director of a nonprofit society



Boyd: Refusing to have her daughter's murderer in jail

# Is a 'faint hope' too much?

## A controversial federal parole law comes under attack

Section 745. The bill is introduced in 1981 and again in 1984 died on the order paper when those Parliamentarians promised—though the last time he made it past second reading in the House of Commons. And now the justice minister is wading into the fray. He has said he hopes to present changes to cabinet within a month, although he said Michael's law was that rather than repeal Section 745, he wants to amend it. Amendments, Rouse says, include eliminating minimums for multiple killers and allowing trial judges to eliminate upon sentencing whether a killer should be entitled to a review 35 years later. Part of the pressure on Rouse stems from timing: Ontario child murderer Clifford Olson will become eligible for a review in August. "And if course that just irritates everybody, that he has the right to ask for early parole," says Sharon Rosenblatt, president of the Ontario-based Victims of Violence group. Her own son, Daryn, was one of Olson's 11 victims. "I can only hope to God that it will be repealed before August," Rosenblatt says, "so that our family and the other 70 families won't have to go through this whole thing again."

Many victims' rights advocates insist that it is not enough to tinker with Section 745—it must stay eliminated. The measure became law in 1976, at the time when Parliament abetted capital punishment. Rouse called the fast-track clause, a grant of offender's right to apply for a judicial review before a jury that considered factors including the victim's character, conduct in prison and the nature of the offence. Only two-thirds of the jury is required to recommend a reduction in eligibility.

Defenders of Section 745 point out that since its passage, the sentence—only parole eligibility. And they argue that the measure is imposed as an incentive for rehabilitation. But Rouse, a Toronto defence lawyer who has successfully represented three inmates in Section 745 applications, says that he is sympathetic to victims' families and recognizes that it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the rights of victims and offenders. He points out that judges have discre-

tion to allow for victim impact evidence at judicial reviews. On last, under a new law, jurors will soon be directed to take into account information provided by victims. But Rouse also insists that there are some people in penitentiaries who, after 15 years, are no longer a compelling threat to society—welding that he trusts the "good common sense" of the jurors. "If offenders have really made dramatic and substantial reforms in their lifestyle and their attitudes and their moral code," Rouse argues, "then I think does promote parole to allow them to make application after 15 years. In fact, it promotes some motivation."

Opponents of Section 745 contend that the clause offers more than just parole. They say the first judicial review occurred in 1987. And of the 61 inmates who completed by the end of last year, 50—or 78 per cent—resulted in some reduction in parole eligibility. Of those, 31 inmates were on full or day parole or some other temporary absence program. No one released subsequent to a Section 745 hearing has since been convicted of a serious personal injury offence, although one offender was convicted of sexual robbery and had his parole revoked. Those who oppose the repeal of Section 745 point out that less than half of eligible offenders apply for judicial reviews. That could suggest, they say, that inmates truly recognize that unless they are able to offer substantial evidence of rehabilitation, their chances for success are minimal.

Of course, as one is saying that numbers can speak to the pain of victims' families. Darlene Boyd says she realizes that at some point her daughter's killer will probably be eligible for parole. "But at least 25 years in what they told me," she says. She is adamant that her family not be able to go through a judicial review. "We're talking about three-to-five years minimum," she says, adding that she is not motivated by vengeance. Instead, she says, "I think I could sit in London—do talk and make people aware of this before other people get hurt."

MARKY NEMETH in Ottawa



Peter, under Section 745, the killer can apply for a judicial review and for early



# A test of wills

## Ontario school boards announce huge layoffs

During her nine years as a teacher of French and history at Lord Elgin High School in Burlington, Ont., Kathleen Carril has always enjoyed being not at work—at least until earlier this month. That's because she will lead the school's staff of 34 teachers, with great formal certification that she will not have a job next September. "The joke going around right now," says Carril, "is that the luckiest teachers are those that the principal hasn't 'bitched.'" Carril is one of 2,100 teachers given pink slips as four Ontario school boards in recent weeks. On one level, those massive cuts are part of a loose bidding game between school boards, teachers' unions and Education Minister John Snobelen, who earlier this month outlined the ways in which boards must eliminate \$600 million—nine per cent of provincial funding—from the school system by Dec. 31. But while many of those given notice will likely be spared when the dust clears, there appears to be little doubt that the minister's cuts, and his vision of how they should be accomplished, will have profound effects on school classrooms. Says John Buchmann, president of the Organization for Quality Education, a lobby group that fights for greater parental involvement in schools: "The minister, the boards, the teachers—everyone seems to be looking after themselves. Of course, it's the kids who will get caught in the crossfire."

While school boards across the country are facing cuts, the pressure is greatest in Ontario, where the Conservative government of Premier Mike Harris is determined to eliminate the province's \$10-billion deficit. Snobelen has already said that the current claw-backs will be followed by another \$600 million in reductions next year. And boards say they have little choice but to plan for the worst. The reason: Snobelen has now decided not to provide them with a so-called tool kit of legislation, which he first spoke of publicly in January. It would have given boards greater flexibility to cut costs by scaling back teachers' daily preparation time, during which they grade tests and prepare lessons; and by replacing some kindergarten teachers with lower-paid, college-educated specialists in early childhood education. As well, it would have streamlined early retirement procedures and prevented retiring teachers from making an unassisted departure.

Instead, Snobelen pressured boards with what he called a "warrior's strategy" that refused from major government intervention, forcing them to meet his new budget targets on their own. The minister says he

did so in order "to get out of the way of the people running the school system at the local level." But Linda Glover, chairwoman of the Halton Board of Education, which includes Lord Elgin school, sees it differently. Says Glover: "It separates the government's words on its best for the kids' catchwords."

Snobelen certainly has good reason to avoid a face-to-face confrontation with the



Carril: Just Round 2 in what will no doubt be a long and difficult fight

province's 130,000 teachers. The Ontario Public Service Employees Union ended its 28th day of a strike against the Harris government on March 16. A new offer to the 55,000 strikers, including an improved job security, was rejected by OPSEU officials last week. The teachers' union, meanwhile, has staged the largest demonstrations yet against the Harris government in January in which 33,000 people marched on the legislature. Says Carril, who is also a district president of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation: "The minister would have been a fool to wage war on two broad fronts and not being weakened on both."

Self, it appears likely that educational innovations will be inevitable in the coming months—shedding full-time strikes at some boards. Although he did not eliminate junior kindergarten programs, which employ 5,000 teachers, Snobelen promised to introduce

legislation this spring that will allow boards to discontinue it. Several have announced their intention to do so. Said Donna Casfield, president of the Ontario Public School Boards Association: "Teachers may think they have great job security, but it's pretty obvious: no program, no kids, no teachers."

And while Snobelen backed off from introducing legislation to reduce preparation time, he made it almost impossible for boards not, at minimum, to put it on the table. Saying that he expects at least \$60 million to be saved from "expenditures outside the classroom," he included preparation time as a "non-classroom" activity.

As well, some boards have said that they may have to shrink academic programs outside of the academic core. Glover says that kinder-garten, environmental studies, and design and technology are possible targets. That prospect

could draw parents into the fray. "Do we use the majority, or the boards, facing such cuts?" asks Buchmann. "It all seems designed to get the pain as close to the classroom as possible."

In the meantime, Carril says that the recent layoffs nation "are just Round 1 in what will no doubt be a long and difficult fight." And while Snobelen continues to insist that his goal is to let local boards run local affairs, those charged with doing so are already discussing the spectre of dragging the province back into negotiations. Says Casfield, "If the minister continues to take away, and the teachers aren't prepared to move, our boards will have to go back to the province for help."

Whether Snobelen will open his hand yet—and what it may contain—remains far from an educated guess.

VECTOR Dwyer



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# PRIMAL FEAR

PARAMOUNT PICTURES PRESENTS A FILM BY JOHN DAHLQUIST "PRIMAL FEAR" CASTING BY JUDITH KATZ MUSIC BY JAMES NEWTON HOWARD COSTUME DESIGNER ROBERTA WATSON EDITOR ROBERTA WATSON EXECUTIVE PRODUCERS STEVE BRONFMAN AND MARY MCGIBBON PRODUCED BY GARY LUCKEN WRITTEN BY GARY LUCKEN DIRECTED BY JOHN DAHLQUIST

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3

## Racking up the honors

I had been billed as a showstopper between Atlanta's alternative-rock queen Allie Moore and Twink's Outraged country princess Shania Twain. And when the 24th annual Juno Awards were handed out in Hamilton last week, it was the rocker who walked away with the most crystal statuettes. Morrisette—who was also a big winner at the Grammy Awards in Los Angeles on Feb. 28—was five out of the six Junos she was nominated for, including female vocalist of the year and best album for her huge hit *Jagged Little Pill*. She lost in just one category to Twain, entertainer of the year, an award determined by a phone-in vote. Twain, 30, who bowed out of the show with the flu, also took the prize for country female vocalist of the year for her hit album *The Woman in Me*. Morrisette, 31, who had refused to go backstage at the Grammys, answered questions, even those about her transformation from a



ALLIE MOORE

deaconess into a raging rock vocalist. "My music is my music," she told reporters. "Wherever it falls, it falls. It just happens to have fallen into a rock category this year." But perhaps an even more telling comment about the Canadian music industry came from Vancouver's father of punk, Art Bergmann, 40, who won his first Juno for best alternative album. "Maybe if I show this to my landlord," he said, "I won't get evicted."

## Hollywood's sensible stud

For a relative unknown from Ottawa, J. C. MacKenzie is remarkably laid-back about his big Hollywood break. Despite his regular role as nerdy lawyer and sidekick office aide Arnold Spivak on the ABC courtroom drama *Murder One*, he is still saving every penny he makes—and driving a beat-up Honda Civic around Santa Monica, Calif., where he now lives. "I've learned not to get my expectations up," says MacKenzie, 35, a veteran of Broadway and numerous minor TV roles. Last week, however, *Murder One* took the nod at the People's Choice Awards, whose winners are determined by a Gallup poll, as favorite new dramatic TV series. And MacKenzie is unabashedly enthusiastic about one of the job's fringe benefits: his character's burgeoning romantic interests. Says the unsmiling actor: "I'm getting more action on TV than I'll ever have in the real world."

MacKenzie: "There's nothing there in the real world."



Dyer: a switch to optimistic beliefs

has covered events from the Vietnam War to the dissolution of the Soviet Union to the disappearing apartheid in South Africa in 1994. "That wasn't the case 10 years ago, or even five years ago," Dyer says he embarked on the series, to be broadcast on CBC Radio's Sunday Morning starting on March 24, and on ABC starting on April 3, when he stated that his pessimistic view of world events was changing. As he saw societies everywhere clamoring for democracy, Dyer says he came to a new realization: "The sole predictor is an optimistic one."

## A kayak, a paddle, an obsession

At age 57, adventurer Don Storkell was getting restless. He was already in *The Guinness Book of Records* for his 12,000-mile canoe trip from his home town of Winnipeg in the mouth of the Amazon River to take he recorded in his 1987 book *Storkell's Guide to the Amazon*. So for an encore, Storkell decided to paddle a kayak from Churchill, Man., through the Northwest Passage to Tuktoyaktuk, N.W.T. His diary of that 3,000-mile journey—it took

him three summers, from 1980 to 1982—was published in his latest book, *Paddle to the Arctic*. At times, Storkell says, "History was very close." On tiny Depas Island in northern Hudson Bay, for instance, he found a brown owl hunkered at what had been a major whaling station 350 years ago. In extreme, life-threatening conditions—he lost parts of all his fingers and some toes to frostbite—camping the voyage became an obsession for Storkell, now 63. "I get possessed," he says about his need to challenge himself. "I am very, very motivated."



Lathan with  
Caden's parental  
control

## TELEVISION

# Disarming the tube

When Mo'Nique Lathan first accepted that her two-year-old son, Caden, might be picking up nasty habits from television, she was not sure what to do about it. "I'll be caught a glimpse of something like smoking, he'll start kicking and pushing," the Toronto accountant recalls. So when Lathan was asked last year to participate in a pilot study of the so-called V-chip (short for violence chip), she readily agreed. The microchips, developed by Simon Fraser University engineering professor Tim Collings, allow parents to block out TV programming that contains violence, sex or coarse language. And it has the energetic support of Keith Sporn, chairman of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), who announced last week that Canadian broadcasters have until September to establish a rating system to be used with the V-chip. Lathan applauds the move. "The chip is really helping," she says. "I'm less concerned about what Caden is watching when I can't be there with him."

The microchip was a victory for Sporn, who has pushed for stricter controls on TV violence since 1995. That was the year that then 34-year-old Montrealer Virginie Laroque, motivated by the murder of her sister the year before, gathered 1.2 million signatures on a petition opposing TV violence. By 1998, under pressure from Sporn, Canadian broadcasters had produced an anti-violence code and established an industry-run council to police it. Last fall, the cable in Caden's house issued a guide to help parents assess

many of the programs their children might be watching. An Sporn told Lathan's, "That was a show of transparency among Canadians that was quite outstanding."

While the new device was hailed by many as a step in the right direction, the announcement was also greeted with a flood of questions: How should standards for TV violence be set? Can the Canadian system be harmonized with one that is currently being developed in the United States? And, perhaps most important, will the V-chip really help children avoid the negative influence of TV, or merely give their parents a false sense of security?

In the United States, the TV ratings debate was kicked off last month after President Bill Clinton signed a bill that makes V-chip technology mandatory in all new televisions with screens at least 13 inches wide within the next two years. Legislators and programmers in the United States are already embroiled in discussions over how to rate programs that change from episode to episode or that, though controversial, are too mature for children. Meanwhile, a glimpse of how the system may work is already available in Canada. Early last year, Canada's largest cable companies, Shaw Communications Inc. of Calgary and Toronto-based Rogers Communications Inc. (which owns Maclean's) began testing the credit-card-sized chip in 255 households in Victoria, Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Ottawa.

The rating system, developed by Rogers consultant Jason Clayton, uses four general categories—violence, sexuality, language and audience suitability (the CRTC demands it be listed in violence alone)—and six levels. Participating broadcasters encode their programming using a numeric rating. The cable company then supplies participants with a converter containing the V-chip and a remote control; the converter blocks out programming according to levels set by the consumer. "The concept and the fact that it works has received an Algerian approval rating," Clayton says. The main concern is that, she adds, are with the button pad, which some users find too small to use comfortably—

Collings designed it to be a key chain.

The final rating system, however, will be developed by the broadcast industry's Action Group on Violence on Television. Group member Michael McCabe, president of the Canadian Association of Broadcasters, says the industry supports using the chip but is concerned about harmonizing Canadian and American standards, especially since the standards for new systems are different in each country. "It will be confusing for consumers if a program like the X-Files has one rating on Global and another on Fox," he says.

Once the program is launched in September, cable companies will charge subscribers \$1 to \$2 a month over the years to cover the cost of the chips. But some experts believe that widespread implementation of the V-

chip, while helpful, may also mask deeper problems with TV violence and children. Gregory Fouts, a child psychiatrist at the University of Calgary, notes that the chip is most likely to help children whose parents are already careful about what they watch. "This will miss the most vulnerable kids," he argues. "Because their parents may not be concerned enough to use the technology." Public pressure to reduce programming with undue violence or question able values would be far more effective, he maintains. On average, Canadian kids watch about 30 hours of TV per week, and what they see ranges from cops and robbers shows to reality soap operas. "The V-chip doesn't even touch psychological aggression," adds Fouts. "I'm talking about the put downs, name-calling and manipulation of others that is common on a lot of shows with no violence." Whatever its shortcomings, the V-chip may be very good at doing one thing: making television viewers sit down and really think about what they are watching.

PATRICIA CHRISTOLAN

# 680 News ALL NEWS RADIO

# Wall to Wall Coverage





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# Striking the right chord

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BY SHARON DOYLE  
DRIEDGER

When the Toronto Symphony Orchestra's new CD appears in music stores next fall, its cover will feature a photo of its exciting young conductor, Jukka-Pekka Saraste, looking casual—over his left-in-jazz and dark glasses. But during a recording session at Bay Thomson Hall, the orchestra's home base, Saraste is definitely not relaxed. Backstage, in a makeshift control room, the tired, slightly rumpled maestro straddles a straight-backed chair, listening to a replay of *Peter of the Steeple*, the rhapsody—and difficult-to-conduct—work by Russian composer Modest Mussorgsky. Saraste has chosen that piece to be the first CD in a new recording contract. Several times and some two dozen musicians stand at a respectful distance, waiting for his reaction. But Saraste, 30, is lost in the music. His head nods twice-like as he follows the score stretched across his lap. Finally, he jumps up. An offhand "Yeah, it's better" drops the tension, and the players and technicians lapse into easy banter—and the next take. "It's under a lot of pressure," says producer James Mallison at the end of the grueling three-hour session. "That is an important recording for him—he needs it to be very good."

The expectations are high. Two years ago, Finnish-born Saraste was hired to revive one of Canada's largest symphonies. When the 44-45 conductor-in-chief director first stepped up to the podium at the TSO, he faced 101 demoralized players who, two years earlier, had accepted a 15-per-cent pay cut to save the orchestra from bankruptcy. Subscriptions—the highest in North America in 1989 at \$5,000—had slipped to 37,000. His first season, Glühend blühend, had failed to attract a recording contract during his first years with the TSO—a perennial foe of the international pop leagues, where the Montreal Symphony Orchestra is a major player (page 62). And, disappointingly, the symphony's computer concerts had frequently earned lukewarm reviews. "The profession's cer-



Saraste, the orchestra (right) are exciting recording contract and new vitality

ful musician had not created the players at the audience," recalls William Laker, the Toronto Star's music critic since 1987. Now in its second season under Saraste, the TSO appears to be on a new footing. They recently signed a three-year contract with Philips Records, a small, respected label within the Time Warner empire, for six CDs. It is the orchestra's first long-term recording deal. Meanwhile, headliner receipts are jacking up—good news for an organization with a \$3.3-million deficit. And while the TSO has yet to reach the elite level of Charles Dutoit's MSO, critics are taking note. Last week, the orchestra was poised for a performance at New York's famed Carnegie Hall—its first in

five years. The *New York Times* commented that "Mr. Saraste's approach offered an interesting alternative to the increasingly factious international music scene."

Saraste appears to have established an immediate—and continuing—support with TSO members. He is firmly in control, say the music critics, but he has also created a strong sense of collaboration. "He refuses to be called maestro," says Candice Watts, a 44-year-old who has been with the orchestra for six years. "He's very approachable." Gently quiet and introverted, Saraste enjoys one-on-one with the musicians. Notes Watts, "He shows up at the bar across the street quite frequently." That style reflects Saraste's belief that the era of the "practical conductor" is over. "There have been situations where the musician hated the conductor but the orchestra still is very successful," says Saraste. "But there is no way these days that a dictator could succeed. Always there has to be a considerable amount of trust between the conductor and the musicians."

The TSO chose Saraste as much

for his youthful energy as for his impressive credentials as principal conductor of Edinburgh's Scottish Chamber Orchestra and the Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra—the latter position he held briefly. But many critics note Saraste's 44 is his positive indication that in transforming the TSO, Saraste, a London-based freelance producer who has worked with such luminaries as Herbert von Karajan and Georg Solti. "He has a good sense of the orchestra's



possibilities of music. He is extremely talented."

The musicians appear to be inspired by his musical style on the podium. "I love his music making," says about Frank Murphy. "It always occurs as spontaneities. Some conductors are so rigid that a piece always sounds the same. With Sarante, if you play the same piece on three different nights, they will all be different, with different nuances." Says cellist Susan Feyrer: "His gestures as a conductor are extremely convincing—eyes, can are the music coming through his whole body, not just his hands."

That confidence, says Lefter, flows through to the audience. "He lets them express themselves," he says. "It's rather more passionate playing, but still elegantly controlled. They haven't lost their discipline, but they are more open and demonstrative, which is communicated to the audience." The results are measurable: more of subscribers have increased a modest two per cent, but single ticket sales have soared by 85 per cent since Sarante took over in 1994. Those figures, says the TSO's managing director, Stan Short, "can be traced to Sarante's presence."

Although the orchestra has made successful recordings in its 75-year history, the soundtrack deal with Philips promises to extend its audience internationally. "This record will be all over the world," says Warner marketing manager Neil O'Rourke. "It will give them a profile." Sarante, who has more than 40 recordings to his credit and is perhaps better known for his 1980s albums on RCA, is now negotiating with Philips deal about the contents of future recordings. Under consideration are works by Beethoven, Liszt, Prokofiev and contemporary French composer Henri Dutilleul. Sarante says he is determined to elevate the symphony in the ranks of the world's great musical ensembles. He has plans for a European tour within the next five years. And while he has just another year left in his TSO contract, the Philharmonia did in fact three years and Sarante seems committed to staying in Toronto. He and his wife, Hope, who looks after their eight- and seven-year-old sons and a five-year-old daughter, are planning to buy a home in the city. And Sarante appears to regard the TSO as an important vehicle in his own career. "It is an honour to make that orchestra more international and to let it grow," says Sarante. "Of course, I'd be satisfied if that did not happen."

At the same time, Sarante is working with TSO management to strengthen the orchestra's ties to the community. They do not want to duplicate the experience of the Montreal Symphony, which built an international reputation and a strong body of recordings but has lost much of its local following. He responds to criticism that the TSO is too Eurocentric. Sarante has programmed 15 Canadian works in the 1995-1997 season. And the conductor is not prepared to pander to the audience. Instead, he hopes to challenge with 20th-century composers such as Dutilleul. "Sometimes there is a very polite reception to a contemporary piece," he observes. "Sometimes it is a failure. It is our duty to bring it to the audience—concert is an experience." And Sarante, with his big dreams, is intent on opening the eye of the world to the Toronto Symphony Orchestra. □

## SOUR NOTES IN MONTREAL

It was one more artistic coup for Canada's most distinguished orchestra. Last week, the Montreal Symphony Orchestra and the MSO Chorus, under the direction of Charles Dutoit, won a Grammy Award in the best-symphonic category for their recording of Beethoven's *Les Troyens*. The decade Streetville Dutoit, conductor of the MSO since 1987, can be forgiven for boasting that his ensemble is "not of this world." In the past decade, the MSO—which has an exclusive long-term contract with Deutsche Grammophon—has collected more than 48 national and international awards for its 70 recordings. And, every year, the MSO travels to major music festivals

across the world for the symphony over the past several years. Says Montreal Gazette music critic Arthur Kaptein, "The MSO suffers from a perception that Place des Arts is not a good place to hear classical music." Some also point out that the anglophone population—traditionally a strong supporter of the orchestra—is declining. But others contend that the symphony suffers from Dutoit's other commitments. The 55-year-old conductor leads two other orchestras, the Orchestre National de France in Paris and Tokyo's NHK Symphony Orchestra. "Charles Dutoit is as good as he is for the musical life of MSO—it is simply not true," declares Marco Lubbe,



Dutoit, financial and administrative troubles along with awards

in Europe, Japan and the United States. The MSO's administration and financial problems, however, have piled up as fast as their awards. In the past several months, the orchestra's management has been in turmoil, with five senior people getting laid off in February.

Meanwhile, the orchestra's recording and touring—expensive undertakings that bring prestige but not necessarily profits—have contributed significantly to its \$4.3-million deficit. So has the declining audience. According to the MSO's general manager since November, Michelle Gauthier, the number of subscribers has dropped to 15,000 from more than 20,000 in the 1980s. Among the possible reasons is a sense that the MSO's home base, 35-year-old Place des Arts, is past its prime—a feeling intensified by the three failed attempts to build a new con-

servatory of the Montreal classical label Anistone. "You have to make the orchestra feel that it is the architect of their future, not just Dutoit's jewel."

Dutoit disagrees but critics insist. "This is absolutely absurd," he says. "We play just as much in Montreal as in the past." And, he insists, many MSO staff either leave or make a profit. "We have to keep our audience around the world," says Dutoit. The conductor brooks at the fact that the 100 musicians' pay was cut to 46 weeks from 50 last year. "If we cut not out and cut," says Dutoit, "we will not end up with an average orchestra." For now, Dutoit is contenting on the MSO's new management to take care of the money—so that he can focus on musical excellence.

SHARON DOYLE DUBOISER with  
JAMES TORRE in Montreal

## MUSIC

# Selling the music

For beleaguered orchestras, marketing is key

At the American Marketing Association's annual awards night in Calgary early this year, crystal ball gazers were given to the marketing directors responsible for 1994's most successful campaigns. Among the 400 controversially dressed people in the hall ballroom, Graeme Morrice stood out in his bright yellow blazer. That was his marketing strategies that caught the association's eye. Morrice's campaign for the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra made him the first person working for a symphony to win an award from the 50,000-member association,

the American Marketing Association. Many of the more than 100 smaller orchestras and ensembles are also trophies. Even the internationally acclaimed Montreal Symphony Orchestra and the controversial Toronto Symphony Orchestra are substantially in the hole, in the form of \$4.2 million and \$2.3 million, respectively.

Debt has already paralyzed the 113-year-old Hamilton Philharmonic Orchestra and threatened the demise of the Vancouver and Atlantic symphony orchestras (see later) was reborn in 1985 in Symphony Nova Scotia. "We have to achieve our budgets either through increased attendance or increased prices," says Bob McPhee, managing director of the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra. "And to just simply increase prices is not a reality of the market right now."

Some are putting their hopes in demographic trends. According to University of Toronto research, David Foot and journalist Daniel Soffman, authors of the upcoming *Blues, Jazz and Rock*, there will soon be a renaissance for symphonies as baby boomers finally give up their teenage love on youth and trade in their rock albums for the classics. Foot maintains that the 30-to-49-year-old age group is starting to opt for the price and quiet of the concert hall. "Culture is on the way back in," he asserts, "as a result of the aging of the Canadian population."

In the meantime, many orchestras are following the Calgary Philharmonic's example of more aggressive, innovative marketing. Indeed, the annual conference of the Association of Canadian Orchestras in Toronto in May will focus on how to sell the music.

The Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra's Mount on the Mountain last year, on Friday

In the case of the Calgary orchestra, that has involved a barrage of mailings and an intensive fundraising campaign aimed at 50,000 current and past subscribers. As a result of these efforts, the 40-year-old organization—under music director Hans Graf since last season—has managed to sell out such annual events as Mount on the Mountain, which attracted 13,000 people to the outdoor festival in August, and the New Year's Eve concert, now held at the Calgary Stampede grounds. The first annual Maestro Ambassador Ball last season, which raised \$46,000

Stons and Memes are largely responsible for reducing the organization's annual 1993 deficit of \$1.6 million to \$200,000. "I can't be sure on what without thinking, 'Can the artist help me raise money?'" Stone says.

Time is definitely running out for the Hamilton Philharmonic. Under a \$1.9-million debt, it had to suspend operations in January, cancelling 30 concerts. Former Hamilton mayor Jack Macdonald and Ontario Ontario Liberal leader Stuart Scott are choosing a study exploring various options, including a merger of the Hamilton orchestra with counterparts in nearby Kitchener-Waterloo and London, Ont.

If the expense of other symphonies is any indication, there may be little to be gained. The Vancouver Symphony cancelled the last 40 of its 76 scheduled concerts in its 1987-1988 season and laid off 76 full-time musicians because of its \$3.3-million debt, but when the orchestra resumed season after a huge fundraising campaign raised more than \$445,000, it was still in the red. "We lost a grant of \$200,000 was received," Peter Sweeney says as a walk-up concert. "Sometimes, like CBC Radio's *The Arts Tonight*," he asserts, "orchestras are very expensive organizations and they need constant care and feeding."

Many orchestras are trying to increase ticket sales by offering more intimate performances with guest artists and music directors, and other off-site attractions. This year, the Winnipeg Symphony Orchestra's fifth annual de Maeter Arts Ltd. New Music Festival attracted 34,000 patrons during nine days of contemporary live. Since 1990, the Vancouver Symphony has held an annual concert in the Whistler ski resort. The Victoria Symphony draws about 50,000 people to its annual performances from a lounge at the city's major hotel—the program always includes Tchaikovsky's 1812 *Overture*, with its crowd-pleasing cannon blast. For their own survival, many orchestras are beginning to rely on heavier marketing strategy.

SHARON DOYLE

# Allan Fotheringham

## Achievements— real, imaginary and dubious

**T**here is, as you know, no limit to man's vanity. Flattery will get you everywhere. There is also no limit to those who can find a way to make money out of this truth.

In the month last week was a land offer from something called the International Biographical Centre in Cambridge, England. To wit: "You are hereby invited to complete the questionnaire and return it to the Editors as your biography can be included in the Seventeenth Edition of MEN OF ACHIEVEMENT."

We learn that in excess of 85,000 such biographies have appeared. The new Edition will include comprehensive biographical details of some 5,000 of the world's most influential male achievers."

Well. This is right up my alley. As a man with no vanity, I have never been so honored. My application has been filed and sent on the way and so the record is being kept with anticipation for the publication "throughout the world, late 1996." Among my entries:

I once lost a dog named Bitch who followed me to St. Vincent School each week and sat outside, while the vestiges of the United Church were imprinted on my soul, and then accompanied me home. I suppose you could say this was Bitch's achievement, but I was involved.

I once, on a Vespa motor scooter, hit a cow on the road between Poman and Warsaw, flew over the handlebars and landed on the maddens surface, thus marring the top three layers of skin on all 10 fingers. I do not recommend this achievement to anyone.

I once, at a Democratic presidential convention rooftop cocktail party in San Francisco, stuck my business card in Gloria Steinem's un-cordoned dress and said I would call her for lunch and lunch in New York. This was not a wise achievement. She was not amused.

Though vertically challenged, I was captain of the Chittivack Frodo-movers, who finished fourth in the B.C. High School Basketball Championship, the fourth-best finish of any non-Vancouver team. This was the greatest achievement of my life. All the rest has been downhill.

With another journalist and a junior diplomat, I once stole a five-extrajournal from a canoe in Mexico, on the Cham coast, and we were pursued by waters in a mchoban, spent the night in jail and



bricked our way out with cigarettes. This was not an achievement, granted, but it was different.

It is a grand achievement—looked for worlds, since next week I am going to have lunch in Halifax with Colleen Jones, my current push, the CBC Newsworld weather girl who, it turns out, unfortunately has a husband, some kids and is the 11-time reigning Nova Scotia curling champion. I have outgled.

The late, great Stuart Kente wrote in his remembrance that his greatest achievement as a lifetime journalist was, as publisher of The Vancouver Sun, being served with three libel writs on one day by not amused readers of my columns.

I once, in a Paris back lane, exchanged the last \$100 I owned with a street black motorcycle and found, as he quickly disappeared, that he had given me a bundle that had a few francs on the outside and turn-up newspapers inside. This was an achievement in stupidity that is hard to surpass. I hope Cambridge views these things generously.

I once had Prince Philip, when I don't like, gallowing with him on the Royal Weyhe Peninsula on rushing my column carrying up the First Street back to make his like so unpleasant. I regret this as an achievement.

I once started to endure a tattoo in Hong Kong, at midnight, but a hurt so much I cut it short. This has been an achievement of common sense.

I started out in a one-room school house in Saskatchewan. Which is where I learned to spell. I can't add, but I can spell. This is called a saw all achievement.

I once, with another reporter, a lawyer and a beautiful, blond 35-year-old guide from Vancouver named Ella Desriviere, drove from Finland in a Volkswagen all the way to the Black Sea over several weeks. By the time we reached Odessa, none of us was talking to the lawyer. This was an achievement that proved painful but in life.

I once lived with five Austrians in a freezing London basement flat—in Knightsbridge just around the corner from the Albert Hall and Winston Churchill in his dying days—who would each Sunday morning open the fridge door and empty everything left over from the week into a huge frying pan. The result was called a Meadow Melon. My children still run screaming from the room when I attempt it. When I want to get rid of them, that is how I achieve it.

The wife of premier W. A. G. Bennett once exonerated me on an elevator in the Hotel Vancouver at a Social Credit convention, beat me over the head with her purse, a score right out of Lough-As. I regarded the bruises as an achievement.

I once landed in West Germany, on a ferry from Sweden, without a visa or proper papers and made it through to Berlin and on went to Poland and back, without the required documentation. This achievement is called ignorance is bliss.

I once planned to run for Canada in the 1989-poll event at the Olympic Games and dreamed of playing professional football. This is called an achievement of the imagination. I can't wait for the publication date.

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